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A HISTORY
OF
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

BY
EDWARD STANWOOD

FOURTH EDITION, REVISED



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PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

THIS History of Presidential Elections professes to be little more than a record of the circumstances of such elections, and of whatever had an appreciable influence upon the result of each election. But as in this category is comprehended almost every important incident of the domestic and foreign relations of the United States, the book will be found to contain references, with or without comment, to most of the events in American political history.

The materials have been gathered from a great variety of sources. The newspapers, — for the long period from 1812 until 1848, chiefly Niles's "Register," — the political almanacs, Mr. Greeley's "Political Text-Book," published in 1860, and Mr. Edward McPherson's biennial "Political Hand-books," have been drawn upon freely for facts and documents; but in all cases the author has endeavored to verify each fact, and to correct the text of documents, particularly of party platforms, by a comparison of authorities.

E. S.

BROOKLINE, MASS., September, 1884.

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A HISTORY OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

I.

THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM.

"THE mode of appointment of the chief magistrate of the United States," wrote Alexander Hamilton, in No. 67 of the "Federalist," "is almost the only part of the system of any consequence which has escaped without some censure, or which has received the slightest mark of approbation from its opponents." And it was also true, as was said by James Wilson, in advocating the Constitution before the Pennsylvania Convention, "The Convention, sir, were perplexed with no part of the plan so much as with the mode of choosing the President of the United States." To these assertions must be added, after a century of practice under the Constitution, that no other part of the great charter of the country has failed so completely to fulfil the intentions of the fathers; has, by its ambiguity of language, given rise to more, or more perplexing, disputes; or has been the occasion of more numerous and varied attempts at amendment.

It is, however, not the purpose of this work to criticise, but to record,—to exhibit the electoral clauses of the Constitution in their practical working, without the slightest attempt to cause the events of twenty-four presiden-

ally should have done, simply because the people wish for anarchy. That it is the part of statesmanly to consider the numerous evils which have been ed by a part of the Constitution faulty in what it and in its omissions, and unsatisfactory in its no one can deny; but that a failure to take up sition and to settle it will result in civil war or isaster, past experience at all events contradicts.

history of presidential elections begins with the on of the system by the Convention of 1787. On h of May, Edmund Randolph submitted a plan of ial government, in which he propceed "a national re to be chosen by the national legislature for the — years," "and to be ineligible a second time."

Pinckney, at the same time, proposed "that the re power be vested in a 'President of the United of America,' which shall be his style; and his title 'His Excellency.' He shall be elected for — and shall be re-eligible." The first decision of the tion was that the term of the Executive should be ears. On the 2d of June, James Wilson proposed re should be "certain districts in each State which ppoint electors to elect outside of their own body." e three propositions were the germs of nearly all

utive power should be vested in one person. A few days later Elbridge Gerry proposed that the Executive should be elected by the governors of the several States. This was negatived. On the 18th of June, Hamilton presented his draft of a constitution, according to which the choice of ~~a single executive officer~~, a President, was to be made by electors chosen by the people very much as they are ~~now actually~~ chosen; and in case there was no choice by a majority of such electors, then an election from among the three highest candidates was to be made by a body of "second electors," two for each State, to be chosen by the first electors at the time of voting for a President, — who were to meet in one place and to be presided over by the Chief Justice. The perplexity of the Convention upon this subject is shown by the long discussions and the frequent reversals of decision. Having already decided that Congress should choose the President, the Convention rejected, on the 17th of July, an amendment providing for his selection "by electors appointed by the legislatures of the several States," and two days later adopted one almost in the same words: "to be chosen by electors appointed for that purpose by the legislatures of the States." Moreover, having fully determined that the term of office should be seven years, it voted, on the 19th of July, to make the term six years; and rejected an amendment that the President should not hold office more than six years out of twelve. The next day the Convention adopted Mr. Gerry's proposition regarding the number of electors. Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia were to have three each; Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, North Carolina, and South Carolina, two each; New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Delaware, and Georgia, one each; making twenty-five electors in all. Once more, on the 26th of July, the Convention reverted to the seven

in a single person. His style shall be "The President of the States of America;" and his title shall be "His Excellency." He shall be elected by ballot by the legislature. He shall hold his office seven years, but shall not be elected a second time.

article, combining Mr. Randolph's and Mr. Pinckland's, and rejecting the electoral plan which the Convention had approved, was the basis of future discussion.

On the 24th of August many proposed amendments were voted on. The Convention refused to give the choice to the people, and, in two different forms, to the choice to electors. It also rejected amendments to give each State one vote for President, and it rejected a proposition to give a casting vote to the President of the Senate. It adopted two amendments, which the third sentence of the article above quoted reads: "He shall be elected by joint ballot by the two Houses, to which election a majority of the votes of members present shall be required."

It will be noticed that up to this point no proposition for the choice of a Vice-President had been made. But on the 4th of September the committee of eleven, to whom on the last day of August, "the questions not decided" had been referred, reported an entirely new plan for an Executive of the United States. It was decided to strike out all of Article X., Section 1, after

and members of the House of Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the legislature. (A)

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; and they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of general government, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in that house, open all the certificates: and the votes shall then and there be counted. (B) The person having the greatest number of votes shall be President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the Senate shall choose by ballot one of them for President; but if no such person have such majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the Senate shall choose by ballot the President. And in every case, after the choice of a President, the person having the greatest number of votes shall be the Vice-President; but if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them the Vice-President.

The legislature may determine the time of choosing and assembling the electors, and the manner of certifying and transmitting their votes.

On the following days a great number of amendments were offered to this plan. Those which were adopted were few, and of these a still smaller number were material. At the place marked (A) was added the provision that "no person shall be appointed an elector who is a member of the legislature of the United States, or who holds any office of profit or trust under the United States."

At the place marked (B) was added the phrase, "in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives," — an important clause, as showing that the intention was that the President of the Senate should count, and that the two houses were present only as witnesses. The word "immediately" was first inserted in the direction that the Senate should choose the President, and then the whole

giving such votes, and the manner of certifying and transmitting their votes; but the election shall be on the same day throughout the United States."

On the 8th of September a committee was appointed to revise the style and arrange the articles agreed to by the Convention. This committee reported on the 12th, and on the following day the articles were "read, debated by the Convention, amended, and agreed to," and the Convention adjourned on the 17th. The article, as finally adopted and ratified, under which the first four elections were held, was as follows:—

ARTICLE II., SEC. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office for the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:—

1. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; and they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of

majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

THE FIRST ELECTION.

It was provided by the Constitution of the United States that the "ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Confederation between the States so ratifying the same." Massachusetts was the ninth State to signify its adherence to the new form of government, on June 21, 1788; Virginia followed on the 26th of the same month; and New York yielded, after a memorable and bitter struggle, on July 26. It then became the duty of the Congress of the Confederation, in obedience both to the advice of the Convention of 1787 and to its own resolution, to fix the time when the new government was to go into operation. But Congress wasted time in a dreary discussion where the seat of government should be fixed. A decision was at last reached in favor of New York; and on the 13th of September, 1788, Congress passed a resolution, reciting in a preamble that a sufficient number of States had ratified the Constitution, and directing that the choice of electors of President and Vice-President should take place on the first Wednesday of January, 1789, that they should meet in their respective States on the first Wednesday in February, and give in their votes, and that the new Congress should meet in New York on the first Wednesday thereafter. The people had

had been made for an election in any of the States.) It would have been idle, so many of the people must have thought, to pass laws for the choice of representatives and electors under a Constitution which was so bitterly opposed as was that of 1787, and which might never go into effect. Accordingly it was necessary to begin with the preliminaries for an election only four months distant, after the resolution of Congress was adopted.

In those days communication was very slow. It would have been nearly impossible, in the time allowed, to have made full preparation for such an election as is that of electors to-day in some of the States. The news of the resolution of Congress would hardly reach some of the distant State capitals in two weeks. The governor must then issue a proclamation summoning the legislature, and again, an allowance must be made for the slowness of the mails. Then would follow the meeting of the legislature and a discussion, perhaps prolonged, as to the manner in which the electors should be appointed; the passage of a law conferring upon the people the right to choose them; and the further preparations for the election. The general impression seems to have been that Congress intended, when it made the time so short, that the legislatures themselves should make the choice. "It is evident," wrote a newspaper correspondent at Philadelphia, on Oct. 1, 1788, "that Congress construe the Constitution that the legislatures of the several States, not the people, are to choose the electors, as that body has ordered the choice of said electors to be on the first Wednesday of January, and their meeting for the choice of President four weeks later. For if the people, as hath been asserted, are to choose the electors, is it possible that in the large States of Massachusetts, Virginia, etc., the returns can be made for the choice, notice given to the persons chosen, and the

...in several States to give the people the choice of electors. Rhode Island and North Carolina had not yet ratified the Constitution, and of course did not appoint electors. In Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, the governors did not summon the legislatures in season to provide for the election, and the appointment of electors was postponed to the designated day by the legislatures themselves.

The proceedings in the other States are in progress.

In New Hampshire an act was passed under which the legislature virtually nominated the electors, but the actual appointment was reserved for the legislature. Under this arrangement an election took place and the votes were returned and counted by the legislature. On the day fixed by Congress, the 7th of January, 1789, the legislature being in session, no agreement had been reached as to the place in which the appointment should be made. The Senate claimed equal power with the House of Representatives in the appointment. The House proposed a joint

The contest was prolonged far into the night, the Senate stubbornly refusing to admit the pretension of the House to a full negative upon its action. At last, shortly after midnight, in order that the vote of the State might not be lost by a delay beyond the time fixed by Congress.

operation in Massachusetts. The State having been divided into districts for the choice of representatives in Congress, the people were directed to bring in their ballots for two candidates for electors in each district. On the first Wednesday in January, the votes having been previously canvassed, the legislature chose one of these two for each district, and also two electors at large.

The vote of New York was lost. A contest similar to that in New Hampshire took place, but one much more bitter than the latter. The Assembly was willing to elect by a joint ballot of the two branches, or to divide the electors with the Senate. The Senate would assent to nothing short of a complete negative upon the action of the Assembly, which was not yielded, and the time for election passed.

Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia passed laws providing for popular elections, which took place without great excitement. Not only in these States, but in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, the vote was very light. The two parties were made up of those who favored the Constitution on the one hand, and those who opposed it on the other. Political sentiment seems to have been largely one way or the other in each community. Here the Federalists comprised nearly the whole population; there, scarcely a Federalist was to be found. There were thus present none of the elements necessary for a great political contest. The majority cast perhaps a half of their possible vote, the minority hardly appeared at the polls; in fact, they often had no candidates in the field.

Meantime, who were to be voted for when the electors should meet? Washington, of course, was to be one of the two persons equally to be voted for by the electors, — he who had the highest number, being a majority of all

st President. Nor did the Anti-Federalists at any
ome to the point of deciding to oppose him. Prob-
ey never even seriously considered the propriety
doing. It was charged that they did so, but the
tion was never supported by any evidence. For
le: it is said in the life of Alexander Hamilton, by
n, that "for a time the pretensions of Franklin
discussed in private circles. But the incomparably
or claims of Washington silenced this purpose,
there is no evidence was encouraged by Franklin,
extreme age would alone have presented an in-
ble objection." As a matter of fact, there is no
ce that Franklin was even aware of any such pur-
if it ever existed. There is too good reason to
that the alleged disposition to pass by the claims
ashington was a figment of the imagination,—an
ion for the purpose of forming the basis of an
e either to control the vice-presidency, or to make
te for John Adams so small as to exhibit him to the
y as a most unpopular candidate.

—
lic opinion had, indeed, concentrated itself upon
dams as Vice-President almost as decidedly as
fixed upon Washington for the first place in the
overnment. The propriety of taking the Vice-
ent from New England was recognized by all

was speedily rejected. It was deemed necessary that Hancock should remain in the position of Governor of Massachusetts. Samuel Adams had been opposed to the new Constitution at the outset, and although he had subsequently advocated it, his early position rendered him an unsuitable candidate. (John Adams, on the other hand, had written a book in defence of the Constitution, and it was deemed on many accounts best that he should be chosen. Yet his relations to Washington had been such during the Revolutionary war that there were doubts whether he would be acceptable to the latter. In answer to an inquiry on this point, Washington had cautiously replied that, —

Having taken it for granted that the person elected for that important place would be a true Federalist, in that case he was altogether disposed to acquiesce in the prevailing sentiments of the electors, without giving any unbecoming preference, or incurring any unnecessary ill-will.

Both Hamilton and Madison were doubtful about taking Mr. Adams, but the former wrote, after full consideration, that, "on the whole, I have concluded to support Adams." The people had decided that before him. Most of the newspapers, in the Northern States at least, which were friendly to the new government, expressed themselves strongly in favor of him. One extract from a Philadelphia paper, under date of Oct. 8, 1788, will suffice for all:—

The electors of President of the United States on the part of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania are to meet in the borough of Reading, where it is universally hoped and expected that one more tribute of merited approbation will be given to George Washington, Esq., by their unanimous suffrages. Of the several respected candidates in nomination for Vice-President, circumstances seem most in favor of John Adams, Esq. While the conciliating talents of Governor Hancock, and the attachment to him that prevails in

There was an understanding for whom they voted, but probably not one of the electors in any State given a pledge. Then occurred an incident which gave rise to much discussion, and widely different views of it have been taken by the partisans of Mr. Adams and Mr. Hamilton. It is to be remembered that at that time the electors voted for two persons for President, who had the highest number, being a majority, was President, and the second highest was to be Vice-President. There is little doubt that the Anti-Federalists directed at one time to concentrate upon George Clinton one of the two places, in the hope of making him Vice-President. It is doubtful if they ever conceived of the possibility of choosing him a President, if they desired that end, and there is no evidence that they intrigued to that end. But Hamilton either believed that they would, and feared they would succeed, or he saw in this a chance to injure Adams. His conduct may be explained on either hypothesis. He seems to have instilled in various quarters a fear that Washington would fail to receive some votes, and that the unanimity in favor of him would make the latter President and Washington Vice-President. It was said, too, that the New Yorkers—as it turned out, New York chose none—would vote for Clinton and Adams, in the hope that Massachusetts

vote to Washington and Adams, advising that one or more votes be withheld from the latter so as to ensure Washington's election for the first place. The acceptance of his advice is the explanation of the scattering votes in Connecticut and New Jersey at least. (The result was the election of Washington by a unanimous vote, and of Adams by less than a majority. The detailed vote was as follows:—

STATES.	George Washington.	John Adams.	Samuel Huntington.	John Jay.	John Hancock.	Robert H. Harrison.	George Clinton.	John Rutledge.	John Milton.	James Armstrong.	Edward Telfair.	Benjamin Lincoln.
New Hampshire . . .	5	5										
Massachusetts . . .	10	10										
Connecticut . . .	4	6	2									
New Jersey . . .	5	5		5								
Pennsylvania . . .	10	5			5							
Delaware . . .	5			5								
Maryland . . .	5					5						
Virginia . . .	10	5		1	1		5					
South Carolina . . .	7				2			5				
Georgia . . .	5								5	1	1	1
Total . . .	60	34	2	9	4	6	3	6	2	1	1	1

It may be well to repeat here that Rhode Island and North Carolina did not vote, not having ratified the Constitution, and that the vote of New York was lost in a quarrel between the two branches of the legislature. The popular vote in the few States where the people chose the electors signified nothing, and no attempt has been made to collect the returns.

The counting of the electoral vote took place on the 6th of April, 1789, more than a month later than the time fixed by the Congress of the Confederation. On that day, a quorum of senators having appeared in their seats, John

of the House, to discharge that duty ; and that they have appointed one of their members to sit at the President's table to make a list of the votes as they shall be declared, submitting it to the wisdom of the House to appoint one or more of their members for the like purpose."

The House appointed two tellers, and, having notified the Senate of its readiness to join that body, proceeded to the Senate Chamber. The President of the Senate presided and counted the vote. The Journal of the Senate is that :—

The Speaker and the House of Representatives attended the Senate Chamber, and the president elected for the purpose of counting the votes declared the Senate and House of Representatives had met, and that he, in their presence, had opened and counted the votes of the electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, which were as follows: [The table given above is inserted.]

Whereby it appeared that George Washington, Esq., was elected President, and John Adams, Esq., Vice-President, of the United States.

The President and Vice-President elect were notified of their election by the Senate. Mr. Adams appeared before the Senate, was qualified and entered upon his office as presiding officer on the 21st of April. P.

III.

WASHINGTON'S SECOND ELECTION.

PARTY spirit did not run very high until near the close of Washington's first administration, but parties were in process of formation. The antagonism between Jefferson and Hamilton, the two leading spirits of the cabinet, was strong at first, and became more decided as the latter, supported by the great influence of the President, carried one after another of the measures which have given form and character to the government even to the present time.

As the time for a fresh election drew near, General Washington expressed a wish to retire; but his withdrawal was not desired even by the Anti-Federalists, who now began to take the name of Republicans. The opposition concentrated their strength in an effort to defeat Mr. Adams, and to place George Clinton in the chair of Vice-President. It does not appear that there was any caucus or meeting, public or private, to agree upon this course; but it was a matter of general understanding that those who were opposed to Hamilton's policy would support electors favorable to Mr. Clinton.

At the last session of Congress before the second election, the following act was passed, which, with certain modifications to be noted hereafter, is still in force:—

AN ACT Relative to the Election of a President and Vice-President of the United States, and declaring the Officer who shall be President in case of Vacancies in the Offices both of President and Vice-President.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted, etc., that, except in cases of the*

of electors and representatives to which the several States by law be entitled at the time when the President and Vice President thus to be chosen should come into office: *Provide* also, that when no apportionment of representatives shall have been made, after any enumeration, at the time of choosing electors, the number of electors shall be according to the existing apportionment of senators and representatives.

2. That the electors shall meet and give their votes on the first Wednesday in December, at such place in each State as shall be directed by the legislature thereof; and the electors in each State shall make and sign three certificates of all the votes by them given, and shall seal up the same, certifying on each that a list of the votes of such State for President and Vice-President is contained therein, and shall, by writing under their hands, or under the hands of a majority of them, appoint a person to take charge of the same, and deliver to the President of the Senate, at the seat of government before the first Wednesday in January then next ensuing, one of the said certificates; and the said electors shall forthwith send, by the post-office, to the President of the Senate at the seat of government, one other of the said certificates; and shall also cause the other of the said certificates to be delivered to the judge of that district in which the said electors shall be assembled.

3. That the executive authority of each State shall cause to be made up lists of the names of the electors of such State to be made and certified, and to be delivered to the electors on or before the first Wednesday in December; and the said electors shall attach to one of the said lists to each of the lists of their votes.

4. That if a list of votes from any State shall not have been received at the seat of government on the said first Wednesday

SEC. 5. That Congress shall be in session on the second Wednesday in February, 1793, and on the second Wednesday in February succeeding every meeting of the electors, and the said certificates, or so many of them as shall have been received, shall then be opened, the votes counted, and the persons who shall fill the offices of President and Vice-President ascertained and declared agreeably to the Constitution.

SEC. 6. That in case there shall be no President of the Senate at the seat of government on the arrival of the persons entrusted with the lists of the votes of the electors, then such persons shall deliver the lists of the votes in their custody into the office of the Secretary of State, to be safely kept and delivered over as soon as may be to the President of the Senate.

SEC. 7. That the persons appointed by the electors to deliver the lists of votes to the President of the Senate shall be allowed, on the delivery of the said lists, twenty-five cents for every mile of estimated distance by the most usual road from the place of meeting of the electors to the seat of government of the United States.

SEC. 8. That if any person appointed to deliver the votes of electors to the President of the Senate shall, after accepting his appointment, neglect to perform the services required of him by this Act, he shall forfeit the sum of one thousand dollars.

SEC. 9. That in case of the removal, death, resignation, or disability both of the President and Vice-President of the United States, the President of the Senate, *pro tempore*, and, in case there shall be no President of the Senate, then the Speaker of the House of Representatives, for the time being, shall act as President of the United States until such disability be removed, or until a President be elected.

SEC. 10. That whenever the office of President and Vice-President shall both become vacant, the Secretary of State shall forthwith cause a notification thereof to be made to the executive of every State, and shall also cause the same to be published in at least one of the newspapers printed in each State, specifying that electors of the President of the United States shall be appointed or chosen in the several States within thirty-four days preceding the first Wednesday in December then next ensuing; *provided*, that there shall be a space of two months between the date of such notification and the said first Wednesday in December; but if there shall not be the space of two months between the date of such notification and the first Wednesday in December, and if the term

...and the electors shall meet and give their votes on the first Wednesday in December, and the proceedings and the said electors and others shall be pursuant to the directions prescribed in this act.

SEC. 11. That the only evidence of a refusal to accept, or resignation of, the offices of President and Vice-President, shall be an instrument in writing declaring the same, and subscribed by the person refusing to accept or resigning, as the case may be, and deposited into the office of the Secretary of State.

SEC. 12. That the term of four years, for which the President and Vice-President shall be elected, shall in all cases commence on the fourth day of March next succeeding the day on which the certificates of the electors shall have been given.

Fifteen States took part in the election of 1792. Rhode Island and North Carolina had ratified the Constitution; Vermont had been admitted March 4, 1791, and Kentucky, June 1, 1792. Electors were chosen by the legislatures in Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, South Carolina, Georgia, and Kentucky, — nine States; by the people in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, five States. A very peculiar system was adopted in North Carolina, which it is believed was never practised anywhere else, or at any other time. The apportionment, according to the census of 1790, under which North Carolina was entitled to ten members of the House of Representatives, did not become law until April 19, 1793.

lar election. Accordingly the legislature passed a law dividing the State into four districts, and directing the members of the legislature residing in each district to meet on the 25th of November and choose three electors. This was a mere hasty makeshift, and the legislature made permanent provision at the same session for the choice of electors by the people by districts.

It may be mentioned, as illustrating the extreme jealousy of State rights that prevailed at this time, that Governor Hancock sent a special message to the Massachusetts legislature, in the nature of a protest against the right of Congress to require the executives of the several States to certify the lists required by section 3 of the act of 1792. He was willing to perform the duty, but he did not believe Congress could direct him to do it.

The election passed off without excitement or serious contest anywhere. The result, by States, is indicated by the following table : —

STATES.	Washington.	Adams.	Clinton.	Jefferson.	Burr.
New Hampshire	6	6	—	—	—
Vermont	3	3	—	—	—
Massachusetts	16	16	—	—	—
Rhode Island	4	4	—	—	—
Connecticut	9	9	—	—	—
New York	12	—	12	—	—
New Jersey	7	7	—	—	—
Pennsylvania	15	14	1	—	—
Delaware	3	3	—	—	—
Maryland	8	8	—	—	—
Virginia	21	—	21	—	—
North Carolina	12	—	12	—	—
South Carolina	8	7	—	—	1
Georgia	4	—	4	—	—
Kentucky	4	—	—	4	—
Total	132	77	50	4	1

ment or a joint committee -- to ascertain and report
mode of examining the votes for President and Vice
President, and of notifying the persons who shall be electe
their election, and to regulate the time, place, and man
of administering the oath of office to the President.
Senate agreed, and the committee reported to the
houses, Feb. 18 : —

that the two houses shall assemble in the Senate Chamber o
Monday next at twelve o'clock; that one person shall be ap
pointed a teller on the part of the Senate (two on the part of th
House), to make a list of the votes as they shall be declared; tha
result shall be delivered to the President of the Senate, who
shall announce the state of the vote, and the persons elected, to
the two houses, assembled as aforesaid, which shall be deemed a dec
laration of the persons elected President and Vice-President, and
the result, with a list of the votes, be entered on the Journals of the
houses.

the mode was observed.

When the two Houses having accordingly assembled, the certificates
of electors of the fifteen States of the Union, which came by
mail, were, by the Vice-President, opened, read, and delivered
to the tellers appointed for the purpose, who, having examined and
counted the votes, presented a list of them to the Vice-Presi
dent, which list was read to the two Houses, and is as follows
[follows the above table.]

Whereupon

Vice-President declared George Washington unanimously
President of the United States.

It will be observed that in this case the Vice-President both opened *and read* the certificates, and that the tellers did no more than verify and tabulate the returns. The exclusive power of the Vice-President to count the votes was thus asserted and exercised in a marked manner. On the next occasion, as we shall see, the use of this power might have been a matter of some importance.

at the end of Washington's second administration spirit reached a degree of acerbity which has been equalled, and never exceeded, in this country. Jefferson had resigned his office as Secretary of State at the beginning of 1794, and was recognized a leader of the Republican party, and the representative of opposition to the policy of which Hamilton had been the proposer, and which was fully accepted by the President. But foreign affairs, even more than domestic, divided parties. Jefferson and the Republicans generally open partisans of France, advocates of the Revolution, and haters of the French monarchy and of England, the enemy of France. No doubt a very large majority of the people of the United States shared in these sentiments, which the long war with England, the intolerable wrongs with that country, the assistance France had rendered during the Revolutionary War, and the adoption of republican forms by the French on acquiring their liberties, all combined to render popular.

The only question, however, was, how far this sympathy for France should be allowed to carry the country. The French Republic claimed most insolently the active support of America; and her ambassador, "Citizen Genet," openly organized the friends of France for active

tion of to-day is mildness. The anger of the opponents of the administration was transformed into uncontrollable rage by the Jay treaty, which they denounced as a most cowardly surrender of American interests to Great Britain. It was only the confidence which the people had in Washington's wisdom and patriotism, whatever opinion of him their words indicated, that saved the treaty from indignant rejection. It was ratified, however, and the House of Representatives was persuaded to agree to make provision for carrying it into effect, in the early part of 1796, a few months before the election was to take place.

Although there were no formal preparations of opposition, — for the elaborate political machinery of to-day was not then invented, — the Republicans were resolved to make a great effort to defeat the Federalists. In all probability they would not have endeavored to prevent the re-election of Washington if he had consented to be a candidate, and they would not in any event have succeeded. So late as the beginning of September, 1796, it was not known, though it was rumored, that Washington would refuse a third term in the Presidency. And even then, before the Farewell Address was issued, without any caucus or convention, the candidates were already designated by popular agreement. "It requires no talent at divination," it was said in the "Boston Gazette," a Republican paper, in September, 1796, "to decide who will be candidates for the chair. Thomas Jefferson and John Adams will be the men, and whether we shall have at the head of our executive a steadfast friend to the rights of the people, or an advocate for hereditary power and distinction, the people of the United States are soon to decide." Mr. Thomas Pinckney, who had not long before resigned the position of minister to England, was, by common, but not universal, consent, associated with Mr.

Union on June 1, 1796. The electors for that State were chosen by the legislature. Those for North Carolina were elected by the people. No other State changed its system, and there were, therefore, six States where there was a popular election, while in the other ten the choice was made by the legislature.

Attempts were made, while the elections were taking place, and after the electors had been chosen, to influence the result. They were of two classes. There was first a class in more than one quarter to represent that Mr. Adams was not faithful to the principles of Federalism, and that he could not be depended upon to follow out the policy which had guided Washington in his administration.

Of this class was a communication signed "A Friend to the Constitution," originally printed in a New York paper, but widely copied into the newspapers of other States, especially those favorable to Mr. Jefferson's pretensions, — in which it was asserted that Mr. Adams was never taken into the confidence of the President; that he was not permitted to reside at the seat of government except during the sessions of Congress; that he was regarded only as the president elect of the Senate; and that he had privately expressed himself in terms of decided hostility to many of the measures of Washington's administration. The result of this was of course to create a feeling of hostility to Mr. Adams.

France, M. Adet, probably at the instigation of his government. In the midst of the election he addressed a note to the Secretary of State, and also caused it to be published in all the newspapers which would print it, reproaching the administration with having violated its treaties with France, and with conducting itself in a most ungrateful manner toward a country which had rendered important assistance in the Revolutionary struggle. He also announced that he was directed by his government to suspend his diplomatic duties. The interruption of relations was, however, not to be interpreted "as a rupture between France and the United States, but as a mark of just discontent, which was to last until the government of the United States returned to sentiments and to measures more conformable to the interests of the alliance, and to the sworn friendship between the two nations."

This manifesto, if it had been able to exercise any influence at all upon the election, would have increased the vote for Mr. Jefferson, who was believed to be the fast friend of France, even to the extent of engaging in war in her support, if necessary; though it does not appear that Mr. Jefferson himself gave France any reason to expect him to adopt such a servile policy. But no effect of M. Adet's letter can be traced in the elections.

The popular vote in those States where there was a contest, real or nominal, is not preserved in a form to indicate the strength of the two parties. The minority usually refrained from voting altogether. The result by electoral votes is given on the next page.

The proceedings in preparation for the count of the electoral votes were in all respects similar to those of four years previous, except that the proposition for a joint committee originated this time in the Senate. The count itself is interesting on account of the fact that Mr.

	John	Thom	Thom	Aaron	Samu	Oliver	Georg	John	James	Georg	Samuel	John I	Charles
Massachusetts . . .	8	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
New Hampshire . . .	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rhode Island . . .	16	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-
Connecticut . . .	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
New York . . .	9	-	12	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
New Jersey . . .	12	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pennsylvania . . .	3	14	3	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Delaware . . .	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Virginia . . .	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Carolina . . .	4	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
South Carolina . . .	1	20	1	1	15	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-
Georgia . . .	1	11	1	6	-	-	-	-	6	1	-	-	-
Florida . . .	-	8	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alabama . . .	-	4	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mississippi . . .	-	4	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Louisiana . . .	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total . . .	71	68	59	36	15	11	7	5	3	3	1	2	1

as himself presided, opened and read the certificates
 declared himself elected, when the rejection of four
 which had been called in question would have de
 f him and elected his opponent. The legislature o
 mont had appointed electors, but had not previousl
 d a law directing how they should be appointed. I
 ontended, privately, by some persons, that the ap
 pment was invalid. But the question was not raised
 ngress, or at the joint meeting for the count of the
 . Mr. Adams's opponents did not feel sure of their
 d, and probably did not know how to proceed to

seventy-one and you sixty-eight, Pinckney being in the rear of both."

Mr. Adams could certainly not raise the question himself, but he seems to have given an opportunity for objections if anyone should see fit to raise them. The record shows this. When the tellers had reported the result, Mr. Adams thus addressed the assembled senators and representatives:—

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives,—By the report which has been made to me by the tellers appointed by the two Houses to examine the votes, there are 71 votes for John Adams, 68 for Thomas Jefferson [and so on to the end of the list]. The whole number of votes are 138; 70 therefore make a majority; so that the person who has 71 votes, which is the highest number, is elected President, and the person who has 68 votes, which is the next highest number, is elected Vice-President.

At this point Mr. Adams sat down for a moment. No person having interposed any remarks, he arose again and said:—

In obedience to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and to the commands of both Houses of Congress, expressed in their resolution passed in the present session, I declare that John Adams is elected President of the United States for four years, to commence with the fourth day of March next; and that Thomas Jefferson is elected Vice-President of the United States for four years, to commence on the fourth day of March next.

And may the Sovereign of the Universe, the Ordainer of civil government on earth, for the preservation of liberty, justice, and peace among men, enable both to discharge the duties of these offices conformably to the Constitution of the United States, with conscientious diligence, punctuality, and perseverance.

THOUGH the administration of Mr. Adams began with a large majority in his favor, alike among the people and in Congress, it became increasingly popular during the latter part of his term of office; and it was only as the election of the year 1800 drew near that his choice for a second term became even improbable.

The one overshadowing question during the whole administration was the relations with France. Notwithstanding the long-standing friendship between the two countries, the treatment of the American embassy arrested in 1797, consisting of Messrs. Elbridge Gerry and Charles C. Marshall, and C. C. Pinckney, and the insolent exactions of France upon our commerce, turned public sentiment strongly against that country. Congress approved military and naval preparations for war with France by strong majorities, and the people were heartily in favor of the administration, though the minority which opposed it was fierce and vehement. During the session of 1797-98, which lasted more than eight months,

Alien and Sedition laws were passed. These laws concentrated the opposition, and made the rallying point for the Republican party at the ensuing election. They are referred to in numerous Democratic platforms.

Sedition Laws from our statute-book," which embodies a historical blunder; for as a matter of fact the Sedition Law was temporary and expired by its own limitation, as did also the greater part of the Alien Law: the rest of the latter act is still the law of the land. No act of repeal of either was ever passed. Opposition to these two acts, however, was very bitter in 1798 and the following years. But in spite of it the elections for new members of Congress, which took place in the autumn of 1798 and the following spring, were very favorable to the administration.

The measures of Congress having consolidated the opposition, Mr. Adams's own act alienated a large body of his friends. In spite of the insults to which the former embassy to France had been subjected, and in the face of his own assertion that he would make no more attempts at negotiation, he determined, in 1799, to send other agents to France and renew the efforts to make a treaty. He reached this determination without consulting his cabinet, and deeply offended Mr. Pickering, the Secretary of State, and Mr. McHenry, the Secretary of War, who were strongly opposed to the step. The Federalists were still disposed to support him in the election which was to take place the next year, but they had lost their enthusiasm for him.

As most of the electors were to be appointed by the legislatures, the contest for the Presidency virtually began with the election of the members of those bodies, and the contest was really decided when the legislature of New York, chosen in May, 1800, was found to have a Republican majority. New York had voted for Mr. Adams in 1796. Had it continued to support him in 1800 he would have had six more electoral votes than he received in 1796, and sixteen more than were given to Jefferson and Burr.

is, whose "weekly register" is a treasury of facts and students of our early political history, tried to clear up but acknowledged his failure. Very early in 1800 a meeting of a few Federalist members of Congress, for the purpose, as was said at the time, of discussing the Presidential election, was held in the Senate chamber. No account of its proceedings, so far as known, was ever printed, but it was probably called for the purpose of strengthening Mr. Adams's cause; for Madison says in another place ("Register," vol. 24, p. 27) "it was well understood that many of the Federalists were opposed to the taking up of Mr. Adams for re-election, — that they had nearly fixed on another person" and it may be also for naming a candidate for Vice-President. But it is all a matter of conjecture and uncertainty. Whatever may have been its object, it excited the wrath of the Republicans, and was denounced in the Philadelphia "Aurora" as a "Jacobinical conspiracy," — for which and other insulting remarks the editor of the paper was arraigned before the bar of the State House.

The Republican members, however, held a caucus some time later, — probably in February or March, 1800; at a secret meeting, and attended by a small number of members, not so much for the purpose of nominating M

Burr's friends complained that in 1796 he had not been supported, particularly in the South, as he should have been. But, as the Constitution then stood, Burr was nominated and voted for as the equal of Jefferson on the ticket, and this was the basis of the claim which was set up in his favor a year later.

Pending this election, a serious, and at one time a most promising, attempt was made to remedy the deficiencies in the Constitution in the matter of the electoral count, by a law. As the legislation then proposed subsequently formed the basis both of the "twenty-second joint rule," so famous in the counts of 1869 and 1873, and of the electoral commission law of 1877, it becomes necessary to notice the proceedings at some length. A resolution introduced in the Senate Jan. 23, 1800, by Mr. Ross of Pennsylvania, directed the appointment of a committee "to consider whether any, and what, provisions ought to be made by law for deciding disputed elections of President and Vice-President of the United States, and for determining the legality or illegality of the votes given for those officers in the different States." The committee reported a bill, February 14, of which the provisions were, in brief, as follows:—

On the day before the second Wednesday in February of any year when there was to be a count of electoral votes, each House of Congress was to choose by ballot six of its own members, who, with the Chief Justice of the United States, or, in case of his disability from any cause, the next senior justice, were to form a "grand committee," with "power to examine, and finally to decide, all disputes relating to the election."

Each House was next to elect two tellers, to whom the certificates of the electors, after they had been opened and read, were to be delivered; and the tellers were to

...and the President of the Senate was to administer the members of the grand committee an oath to examine the certificates impartially, "together with the exceptions and petitions against them, and a true judgment thereon, according to the evidence." All the certificates, papers, petitions, and testimony were then to be delivered to the chairman of the grand committee, which was to meet every day, sit with closed doors, have ample power to send for persons and papers, compel attendance of witnesses, and punish contempts. The powers of the grand committee were stated in the following section: —

Sec. 8. That the grand committee shall have power to inquire, examine, decide, and report upon the constitutional qualifications of the persons voted for as President and Vice-President of the United States; upon the constitutional qualifications of the electors appointed by the different States, and whether their appointment was authorized by the State legislature or not; upon all petitions and exceptions against corrupt, illegal conduct of the electors, force, menaces, or improper means used to influence their votes; against the truth of their returns, or the time, place, or manner of giving their votes: *Provided always*, that no petition or exception shall be granted, allowed, or considered by the sitting grand committee, which has for its object to dispute, draw into question the number of votes given for an elector, or the fact whether an elector was chosen by a majority of the votes in his State or district.

majority of the committee was to decide finally all questions submitted, and on the day after the report was made the two Houses were to meet again in joint convention, when the result was to be declared, and, if no person had been chosen President, the House was to proceed immediately to make a choice according to the Constitution.

When the bill came under discussion, a motion was made to strike out the first ten sections of the bill — being all which contained any reference to a grand committee — and to insert instead of them a single section, providing that when the two Houses should be assembled for the purpose of having the certificates of electors opened and counted, the names of the States should be drawn in order by lot; that all petitions and exceptions should be read as well as the certificates themselves; that, if no objection should be made, the votes should be counted; but that “if the votes, or any of them, shall be objected to, the members present shall, on the question propounded by the President of the Senate, decide, without debate, by yea or nay, whether such votes are constitutional or not;” and so on, each question being decided before the name of another State was drawn. This proposition was rejected. Various other amendments were offered, some of which were adopted, and the bill was passed substantially as it was reported, except that the constitution of the grand committee was changed so as to relieve the Supreme Court from any duty in connection with the electoral count. Each House of Congress was to choose six of its members for this service, and the Senate was also to select three others of its members, of whom the House was to choose one by ballot as the thirteenth member of the grand committee.

The whole subject was considered with extreme care by the House of Representatives. After much debate

to the election of President and Vice-President United States, other than such as might relate to number of votes by which the electors may have been elected." To this committee all petitions, exceptions, memorials against either the electors or the persons for whom they had voted, were to be delivered. The committee was to meet daily from the time of its appointment until it made its report; it was to have the same powers of examining witnesses and compelling the production of documents which the Senate had given to the grand committee.

The report of the committee was to contain all facts ascertained in the investigation, but no opinion. The count was to be made in presence of the two tellers immediately after this report was made — tellers previously appointed in the manner already prescribed by precedent — in the following method: —

The names of the several States shall then be written under the names of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, on separate and similar pieces of paper, and folded up as nearly alike as possible, and put into a ballot-box, and taken by a member of the House of Representatives, to be named by the Speaker thereof; out of the box shall be drawn the paper on which the names of the electors are written, one at a time, by a member of the Senate, to be named by the President thereof, and so soon as one is drawn the member retaining the certificates from the electors of that State shall be sworn by the President of the Senate, and then shall be

argumentatively, and sign his name thereto; and, if it be founded on any circumstance appearing in the report of the joint committee, and the exception be seconded by one member from the Senate and one from the House of Representatives, each of whom shall sign the said exception as having seconded the same, then each House shall immediately retire, without question or debate, to its own apartment, and shall take the question of the exception, without debate, by ayes and noes. So soon as the question shall be taken in either House, a message shall be sent to the other, informing them that the House sending the message is prepared to resume the count, and when such message shall have been received by both Houses they shall again assemble in the same apartment as before, and the count shall be resumed. And if the two Houses have concurred in rejecting the vote or votes objected to, such vote or votes shall not be counted; but, unless both Houses concur, such vote or votes shall be counted. If the objection taken as aforementioned shall arise on the face of the papers opened by the President of the Senate in presence of both Houses, and shall not have been noticed in the report of the joint committee, such objections may be referred to the joint committee to be examined and reported on by them in the same manner and on the same principles as their first report was made; but if both Houses do not concur in referring the same to the committee, then such objections shall be decided on in like manner as if it had been founded on any circumstance appearing in the report of the committee. The vote of one State being thus counted, another ticket shall be drawn from the ballot-box, and the certificate and the votes of the State thus drawn shall be proceeded on as is hereinbefore directed, and so on, one after another, until the whole of the votes shall be counted.

The bill was carefully considered, and various amendments were proposed and negatived. It was passed on the 2d of May by a vote of 52 to 37. On being returned to the Senate, the bill was referred to a committee which reported several amendments, of which only one was adopted, but that was one of the greatest importance. The word "rejecting" was struck out of the passage quoted above, and the word "admitting" was inserted in its stead. The effect of this was to provide that,

cannot to adhere to the disagreement defeated the bill together.

To return to the election: The contest was waged with animosity all through the year 1800, although there was scarcely a hope for the election of Mr. Adams. The old enmity between Mr. Adams and Mr. Hamilton had something to do with this result. Mr. Hamilton wrote a letter attacking Mr. Adams, which was probably intended for Southern circulation only, but which was published in the North also. His idea seems to have been to get more votes for Mr. Pinckney than for Mr. Adams, and so to make the former President, or at least Vice-President. It was hoped at that time that the vote of South Carolina would be given, as it had been in 1796, for Jefferson and Pinckney. But Mr. Hamilton's finely planned plan went astray, as that of 1793 had done to some extent; and he only succeeded in defeating his party wholly, in precipitating a constitutional crisis, and in laying a broad foundation for a personal quarrel between himself and Burr, which finally cost him his life.

The number of States which took part in the election was sixteen, no State having been admitted during Mr. Adams's administration. The only incident worthy of notice, as regarding the election itself, was what happened in the State of Pennsylvania, which shows that the fathers

the several States to pass a law providing for the appointment of electors every four years, the law expiring after each election. This had been the practice in Pennsylvania from the beginning, and the people had always enjoyed the privilege of choosing the electors by popular vote. In the year 1796, fourteen Jefferson electors had been chosen and only one Adams man. But in the time of Mr. Adams's popularity the Federalists had carried the State once or twice; and, as the senators were elected by classes, for four years, it happened that, in the year 1800, although the Governor and the House of Representatives were strongly Republican, the Senate was still Federalist by 13 to 11. As no law had been passed providing for a popular election in time to enable the people to make a choice, it became the duty of the legislature itself to choose the electors. The House passed a law providing for an election by joint ballot, the only way in which the legislature of that State ever elected officers. The Senate rejected the bill and proposed instead an election by concurrent vote. The House refused to adopt that method. At last the Senate proposed that each House should name eight electors, and that the two Houses should vote together for the combined list, or for fifteen of the sixteen. The House was forced to yield, and the result was that eight Jefferson and seven Adams electors were chosen. The Federal senators — "the Federal thirteen," as they were proudly termed by their admirers — were loudly praised for this act by the party organs. The editor of the United States "Gazette," of Philadelphia, wrote on Dec. 3, 1800, to his paper: —

The Federal thirteen deserve the praises and the blessings of all America. They have checked the mad enthusiasm of a deluded populace and the wicked speculation of designing demagogues. On reviewing the recent aspect of our political affairs, it may be figuratively said, *They have saved a falling world!*

States: —

... was as follows

STATES.	Thomas Jefferson, Va.	Aaron Burr, N. Y.	John Adams, Mass.	C. C. Pinckney, S. C.	Total
New Hampshire					
Vermont			6	6	
Massachusetts			4	4	
Rhode Island			16	16	
Connecticut			4	8	
New York			9	9	
New Jersey	12	12			
Pennsylvania			7	7	
Delaware	8	8	7	7	
Maryland*			8	8	
Virginia	5	5	5	5	
North Carolina	21	21			
South Carolina	8	8	4	4	
Georgia	8	8			
Florida	4	4			
Alabama	4	4			
Mississippi	8	8			
Texas					
Total	78	78	65	64	1

* One Maryland elector did not attend.

The proceedings preliminary to the count, and the count were in all respects similar.

Aaron Burr had a majority; but, the number of those voting for them being equal, no choice was made by the people; and that, consequently, the remaining duties devolve upon the House of Representatives.

Already a committee had been appointed to prepare a set of rules for the House, in case the count should show that it was the duty of the House to elect a President; and the rules, having been discussed in committee of the whole, were adopted as follows: —

First. In the event of its appearing, upon the counting and ascertaining of the votes given for President and Vice-President, according to the mode prescribed by the Constitution, that no person has a constitutional majority, and the same shall have been duly declared and entered on the Journals of this House, the Speaker, accompanied by the members of the House, shall return to their Chamber.

Second. Seats shall be provided in this House for the President and members of the Senate, and notification of the same shall be made to the Senate.

Third. The House, on their return from the Senate Chamber, it being ascertained that the constitutional number of States are present, shall immediately proceed to choose one of the persons from whom the choice is to be made for President; and in case upon the first ballot there shall not appear to be a majority of the States in favor of one of them, in such case the House shall continue to ballot for a President, without interruption by other business, until it shall appear that a President is duly chosen.

Fourth. After commencing the balloting for President, the House shall not adjourn until a choice is made.

Fifth. The doors of the House shall be closed during the balloting, except against the officers of the House.

Sixth. In balloting the following mode shall be observed, to wit: The representatives of the respective States shall be so seated that the delegation of each State shall be together. The representatives of each State, shall, in the first instance, ballot among themselves, in order to ascertain the vote of that State; and it shall be allowed, where deemed necessary by the delegation, to name one or more persons of the representation to be tellers of the ballots. After the vote of each State is ascertained, duplicates thereof shall be made;

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the vote of the State be for one person, then the name on shall be written on each of the duplicates; and in the case of the State be equally divided, then the word shall be written on each duplicate, and the said duplicates be deposited, in manner hereafter prescribed, in boxes provided. That for the conveniently taking the ballots of the representatives of the respective States, there be sixteen boxes provided; and that there be, additionally, two boxes receiving the votes of the States; that after the delegation of each State shall have ascertained the vote of the State, the delegates shall carry to the respective delegations the boxes, and the delegation of each State, in the presence of all the members of the delegation, shall deposit a duplicate of the vote of the State in each ballot-box where there is more than one representative of a State; and the duplicates shall not both be deposited by the same person. When the votes of the States are all thus taken in, the delegates shall carry one of the general ballot-boxes to one table, and the other to a second and separate table. Sixteen members shall be appointed as tellers of the ballots, one of whom shall be from each State, and be nominated by the delegation from which he was taken. The said tellers shall be divided into two equal sets, according to such agreements as shall be made among themselves, and one of the said sets of tellers shall count the votes in one of the said boxes, and the other

Immediately upon the retirement of the House from the Senate Chamber to its own hall, after the count had been made and the result declared, a ballot was taken. The Federalists had already taken the strange resolution to support Mr. Burr in opposition to Mr. Jefferson. It does not appear that there was any understanding between Burr and the Federalists, nor was it ever charged that there was such an understanding; but the alliance was immoral, nevertheless. On the part of Burr it showed a willingness to profit by an accident to gain the Presidency, for which, say what he and his friends might, he was not nominated or designedly voted for; while, so far as the Federalists were concerned, it was a trick to defeat the will of the people, to gratify their feelings of personal

STATES.	Jefferson.	Burr.	State voted for.
New Hampshire	-	4	Burr.
Vermont	1	1	Divided — Blank.
Massachusetts	8	11	Burr.
Rhode Island	-	2	Burr.
Connecticut	-	7	Burr.
New York	6	4	Jefferson.
New Jersey	8	2	Jefferson.
Pennsylvania	9	4	Jefferson.
Delaware	-	1	Burr.
Maryland	4	4	Divided — Blank.
Virginia	16	8	Jefferson.
North Carolina	9	1	Jefferson.
South Carolina	-	5	Burr.
Georgia	1	-	Jefferson.
Kentucky	2	-	Jefferson.
Tennessee	1	-	Jefferson.
Total	55	49	Burr - 6 Jeff - 9 Blank - 2

hostility to Jefferson. The first ballot and eighteen more on the first day, February 11, nine ballotings on the 12th,

On all these ballots the votes of the members of the States were as given on the preceding table (p. 42). On the thirty-sixth ballot, taken also on the 17th of February, Mr. Jefferson was elected. He received the votes of ten States, and Burr of four States; and there were no blanks. One member from Vermont and four from Maryland declined to vote, giving Jefferson both of their votes, and Delaware and South Carolina cast blank votes. Our New England States only continued to vote for Burr. No Federalist ever undertook to defend the course of his party at that election. Hamilton was very strongly in its inst, but his influence did not prevail. In a letter written by Mr. James A. Bayard,—the single member from Delaware, a Federalist, who had voted for Burr up to the thirty-fifth ballot, and then voted blank,—dated on the day the election was effected, but not made public until the year 1833, that gentleman said:—

The New England gentlemen came out and declared they meant to go on without a constitution and take the risk of a civil war. They said that those who would not agree to incur such an extremity must not recede without loss of time. We pressed them to go with us and preserve unity in our measures. After great agitation and much heat, all agreed but one. But in consequence of his stand-out the others refused to abandon their old ground.

Upon the election of Mr. Jefferson as President Mr.

VI.

JEFFERSON RE-ELECTED.

THE danger that the will of the people might be frustrated by the selection of an inferior man as President, under the provisions of the Constitution as originally adopted, was fully revealed by the election of the year 1800. It might be done accidentally by a few scattering votes, or designedly, as might have been the case in 1801. Accordingly there was a determined movement in favor of an amendment of the Constitution to remedy this defect. Both New York and North Carolina adopted and sent to Congress, in February, 1802, a proposed amendment recommended by their respective legislatures, to the effect that, "in all future elections of President and Vice-President of the United States, the persons voted for shall be particularly designated, by declaring which is voted for as President and which as Vice-President."

The history of the adoption of the amendment which left the Constitution in its present form is not interesting or suggestive. An amendment in the above words was adopted by the House, May 1, 1802, by a vote of 47 to 17. The Senate refused to adopt it, 15 being in favor and 8 opposed, not two thirds. The proposition was brought forward substantially in its present form at the next session, but it did not pass. A third attempt was made at the October session of 1803; and, after careful consideration and long debate, it was adopted, having been passed by the Senate by a vote of 22 to 10, and by the House by the exact constitutional majority, 84 to 42. The vote of

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er Macon was necessary to make up the number of electors to a majority of two thirds. The opposition came from the Federalists, who complained that the amendment was designed simply to gratify the wishes and ambition of a single person. Of the 42 votes in the House, no less than 24 came from New England, while the members from that section supported the amendment. The amendment is in these words:—

The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall be a native-born inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall also write on their ballots the persons voted for as President, and, in the same manner, the persons voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make up distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of the persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if he have a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the

consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

At the same session Congress passed a law supplementary to the act of 1792, to take effect whenever the amendment should be ratified, directing that thereafter the electors —

Shall vote for President and Vice-President of the United States, respectively, in the manner directed by the above-mentioned amendment; and having made and signed three certificates of all the votes given by them, each of which certificates shall contain two distinct lists, one of the votes given for President and the other for Vice-President, they shall seal up the said certificates, certifying on each that lists of all the votes of such State given for President and of all votes given for Vice-President are contained therein, and shall cause the said certificates to be transmitted and disposed of, and in every other respect act in conformity with the provisions of the act to which this is a supplement. And every other provision of the act to which this is a supplement, and which is not virtually repealed by this act, shall extend and apply to every election of a President and Vice-President of the United States made in conformity to the above-mentioned amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The above provisions are those which are now in force. It was further provided by the same act that until electors should receive a notice that the amendment had been duly ratified by a sufficient number of States, they should vote in both ways, the old and the new, make out six certificates, and send two sets of each kind to the President of the Senate; but only those which should be in conformity to the Constitution at the time of the election were to be opened. This provision, however, became inoperative by reason of the promptness of the States in ratifying the amendment, — which was declared adopted by the Secretary of State in a notification addressed to the several

... in 1800 was, beyond a doubt, the triumph of a political school whose principles had been, both before and since the adoption of the Constitution, those of a large majority of the people. If there were nothing else to support this view it would be furnished by the facts that the opposition was so active and strong, even as against Washington, that it very nearly defeated Adams's first election, and that as soon as Jefferson attained power it held the reins of government, without scarcely a contest and without a single defeat — for the contest of 1824 was between candidates professing the same principles — for forty years. That Mr. Jefferson's policy and administration were very distasteful to those who had been intellectual, and not merely accidental, supporters of Washington and Adams is certainly true. But it was evident, after Jefferson had taken his seat, that he was upheld by a strong popular majority; and his party in Congress had no difficulty in carrying every measure in which it resolved. The Federalists had no lack of reasons for opposing the President. His removals from office for political reasons; his hostility to the navy; the large assault upon the independence of the judiciary, which he certainly did not discourage; his attempts to restrain within most narrow bounds the authority of the general government; his purchase of Louisiana, which was indeed as grossly

public policy marked the differences between Mr. Jefferson and the Federalists. But the people were with the President.

The first regular caucus of members of Congress for the nomination of presidential candidates was held on the 25th of February, 1804. The report of it is very brief. The call was addressed to the Republican members of the two Houses. They met and unanimously nominated Mr. Jefferson for re-election; and, "by a very large majority," George Clinton of New York was nominated for Vice-President. Indeed, it was to nominate a Vice-President that the meeting was called. No one was in favor of the re-election of Burr. The Republicans particularly were opposed to him on account of his willingness to defeat the real desire of his party in 1801. There seems to have been no objection to the caucus at this time, and the candidates were cordially accepted. The Federalists agreed — it is not known where or by whom the agreement was made — to support Charles C. Pinckney for President and Rufus King for Vice-President.

Seventeen States took part in the election, Ohio having been admitted to the Union Nov. 29, 1802. A new apportionment, too, had been made, based upon the census of 1800, considerably enlarging the number of electoral votes. In most of the States there was no contest, and in Massachusetts alone was the battle fierce; and, strange to say, that State chose the Republican electors by a majority of nearly 3,700 votes out of the — for that time — enormous number of more than 55,000 votes* cast. The Republican party swept the country.

The proceedings in connection with the electoral count were noticeable for one incident only. The Vice-President said, addressing the two Houses assembled in joint

* The vote was: Jefferson, 29,810; Pinckney, 25,777.

STATES.	PRESIDENT.		VICE PRESIDENT.	
	Thomas Jefferson.	Charles C. Pinckney.	George Clinton.	Barth King.
Hampshire	7		7	
ont	8		8	
chusetts	19		19	
Island	4		4	
cticut	1	9	1	9
ork	19		19	
ersey	8		8	
ylvania	20		20	
re	1	28	1	28
nd	9		9	
la	24		24	
Carolina	14		14	
Carolina	10		10	
a	8		8	
ky	8		8	
see	8		8	
.	8		8	
.	162	14	162	14

There were some irregularities in the certificates of electors.

VII.

JAMES MADISON.

THE events of Mr. Jefferson's second term were almost entirely occurrences in our foreign relations. We had difficulties with Spain, with Great Britain, and with France. The President, to be sure, had his quarrel with the court which tried and did not convict Burr, but that was a mere incident. As the term drew toward its close, the relations with Great Britain became more unfriendly, and the accusation of undue partiality for France on the part of the administration was more loudly and persistently preferred. The administration party in Congress were clamorous at one time for a declaration of war against Spain. In 1807 Jefferson declined even to lay before the Senate a treaty with Great Britain, negotiated by the two envoys—James Monroe and William Pinkney, of Maryland—appointed by himself. The cavalier treatment of Mr. Monroe at this time by Mr. Jefferson, and by Mr. Madison, his Secretary of State, probably had something to do with the opposition, at one time threatening, but eventually ineffectual, to Mr. Madison, on the part of Mr. Monroe's friends. John Randolph at this time created great alarm in the administration ranks by his strong dissent from Jefferson's foreign policy, in which he was backed by some other Republican members of Congress. The Federalists had, of course, no difficulty in finding reasons for opposing him; but the last which he gave them was the greatest, the embargo, which was laid in December, 1807, and continued through the whole

, and to some extent, but America more.

There was much preliminary intriguing for the support of the Republican party for the presidency. There was a strong movement in Virginia — representing, however, a minority of the people — in favor of Mr. Monroe. On Jan. 21, 1808, there were two caucuses of members of the Virginia legislature, one of which recommended Madison, and the other, much the smaller gathering nominated Mr. Monroe. This was almost simultaneous with the holding of the second congressional caucus for making nominations. On the 19th of January, Senator Stephen R. Bradley of Vermont issued a notice, "in exercise of the powers vested in me, as president of the Convention of the Republican members of both Houses of Congress," that is, of the caucus of 1804, summoning them to meet in the Senate Chamber, at 6 o'clock, on the 23d of the month.

It is possible that the form in which this notice was issued had something to do with the opposition which was immediately developed to the caucus system, and which ultimately overthrew it. At all events it was then that the reasons afterward urged by the opponents of the caucus were first presented. Mr. Gray, a member from Massachusetts, published an answer to Mr. Bradley's summons, and in the very vehement style of the political literature of the time.

dividual or representative capacity, to countenance, by my presence, the midnight intrigues of any set of men who may arrogate to themselves the right, which belongs only to the people, of selecting proper persons to fill the important offices of President and Vice-President. Nor do I suppose that the honest people of the United States can much longer suffer, in silence, so direct and palpable an invasion upon the most important and sacred right belonging exclusively to them."

Another member from New York published a burlesque upon Mr. Bradley's notification, in which, "in pursuance of a similar power vested in me," he deemed it expedient for the purpose of not nominating a President, not to call a Convention at the same time and place, and requested members not to attend it, "to aid and sanction an infringement of one of the most important features and principles of the Constitution of the United States." But the caucus was held. It is said to have been attended by 94 senators and representatives, although only 89 votes were cast. The latter number, however, was not only a large majority of the Republican strength in both Houses of Congress, but more than one half of the whole membership of both bodies. On a ballot Mr. Madison had 83 votes, Mr. George Clinton 3, and Mr. Monroe 8. The first ballot for a candidate for Vice-President resulted in 79 votes for Mr. Clinton, 5 for John Langdon of New Hampshire, 8 for Henry Dearborn of Massachusetts, the Secretary of War, and 1 for John Quincy Adams. Messrs. Madison and Clinton were then formally declared nominated, by resolution, to which announcement was appended a statement which, in a somewhat amended form, was employed by every subsequent caucus of the kind as long as the system was in vogue. It declared "that, in making the

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recommendation, the members of this meeting only in their individual characters as citizens; have been induced to adopt this measure from sympathy of the case; from a deep conviction of the necessity of union to the Republicans throughout all the United States in the present crisis of both foreign and internal affairs; and as being the most judicious mode of consulting and respecting the wishes of all upon a subject so truly interesting to the whole people of the United States."

Monroe's movement caused not a little difficulty at first. A gentleman in Richmond wrote to a friend in Washington, in March, 1808, that everything was done by Mr. Monroe's real friends to induce him to run, but it was treated as the deceitful counsel of a party. At last, however, Mr. Jefferson's influence prevailed upon Monroe, and he yielded. If he had not yielded, he would probably have been treated as De Witt Clinton for consenting to stand as a candidate in 1812, the regular nominee, four years later.

The Federalists do not seem to have taken any action

in the appointment of electors in Massachusetts. It was asserted that the legislature had not laid the appointment of the electors before the Governor, as the law required. A resolution was introduced for raising a joint committee "to examine the matter of said memorials and report their opinion thereon to both Houses," but it was not acted on. Some days later another resolution was introduced, directing the memorials to be sent to the Senate. After some debate, in which only one member expressed the opinion that Congress could take any action in the premises, the resolution was passed and sent to the Senate with the memorials, where it was ordered that all the papers be laid on the table; and no action whatever was taken upon them.

On this occasion the count of electoral votes took place in the Hall of the Representatives, but by some oversight there was no provision, in the joint resolution directing how the count should proceed, that the President of the Senate should take the chair. Mr. Randolph, who could always be depended upon to create difficulties when there was opportunity, called attention to the fact, and objected to the chair being vacated by the Speaker without a vote of the House. "He did not wish the privileges of this House any way diminished." The case was provided for by a formal vote, and the Senate was admitted. When the votes had all been opened and the returns tabulated, the President of the Senate was about to read the result, when one of the tellers remarked that one return was defective, not having a governor's certificate attached. Nothing further was said, however, and the President of the Senate, Mr. Milledge, Senator from Georgia, proceeded to declare the result, as follows:—

STATES.

	James Madison	George Clinton,	O. C. Pinckney,	George Clinton,	James Madison,	John Langdon, N	James Monroe, V
New Hampshire	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
Massachusetts	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rhode Island	-	-	10	-	-	3	-
Connecticut	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
New York	13	6	9	18	8	-	-
New Jersey	8	-	-	8	-	-	-
Pennsylvania	20	-	-	20	-	-	3
Delaware	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
Maryland	9	-	2	9	-	-	-
Virginia	24	-	-	24	-	-	-
North Carolina	11	-	3	11	-	-	-
South Carolina	10	-	-	10	-	-	-
Georgia	6	-	-	6	-	-	-
Kentucky*	7	-	-	7	-	-	-
Tennessee	5	-	-	5	-	-	-
Ohio	3	-	-	-	3	-	-
	122	6	47	113	3	9	3

* One Kentucky elector did not attend. The State was entitled to eight.

VIII.

AN ELECTION IN WAR TIME.

THE election of 1812 came on when the country was in the first months of the second war with Great Britain. Mr. Madison's administration had not been a strong one. Foreign questions engrossed the public attention, almost to the exclusion of domestic affairs. The matter of renewing the charter of the first United States Bank was almost the only one upon which there was a severe legislative conflict. It is probable that never before or since was there a question upon which there was so even a division of both Houses. A bill to renew the charter was postponed indefinitely by the House of Representatives in January, 1811, by one majority; and twelve days later a similar bill was rejected by the Senate, by the casting vote of the Vice-President.

The course pursued by the administration in foreign affairs was, no doubt, acceptable to the people as a whole. It was a policy on the lines of Jefferson's policy, and characterized by a somewhat inexplicable tenderness for France. The attitude of France toward this country was extremely insolent, and only because its power on the sea was inferior to that of Great Britain was its conduct less injurious to our interests. The weakness of the President's policy consisted in his well-nigh interminable diplomatic correspondence, backed up by retaliatory measures which were frequently modified, and always harmful to American as well as English commerce.

... reported on good authority, that of Mr. ...
then a Republican member of the House from ...
that a committee waited upon Mr. Madison, ar ...
him that war was resolved upon; that unless suc ...
taken the Federalists might possibly carry th ...
tial election; and that if he was not ready to ...
policy he would be abandoned, and another ...
chosen for the pending election. Mr. Madisc ...
and sent to Congress a message, which was take ...
sideration in secret sessions by both branches of ...
and war was declared in June, 1812.

Between the time of Mr. Madison's acquiesce ...
war policy and his transmission of the confide ...
sage to Congress, which resulted in war, he was r ...
for re-election by a Republican caucus. The ca ...
held on the 12th of May, and it does not appea ...
been openly objected to in any quarter. The vo ...
Madison was unanimous, eighty-two members vo ...
one being present who did not vote. On a ballot ...
didate for Vice-President, the venerable John La ...
New Hampshire, who had been the first Pres ...
tempore of the Senate, in 1789, received 64 votes ...
Gerry of Massachusetts 16, and 2 were scatterin ...
President George Clinton had died in office 16 ...
month before. The canons after f- "

measure from a deep conviction of the importance of union to the Republicans throughout all parts of the United States in the present crisis of our public affairs.

Mr. Langdon declined the nomination on account of his age, he was then seventy-one; and a second caucus was held on the 8th of June, which nominated Mr. Elbridge Gerry by a vote of 74, to 3 scattering. Although there was apparent unanimity in all these proceedings, and although no public opposition was offered to the dictation of the caucus, yet it was a very partial caucus. There were at least one hundred and thirty-three Republican senators and members at the time, of whom fifty did not attend the caucus. Only one member was present from New York, and Virginia contributed to the meeting as many members as attended from the five New England States and New York.

The opposition had, in fact, already resolved upon a candidate, De Witt Clinton of New York. This gentleman had been for several years the idol of the New York Republicans, and those who were dissatisfied with the course of Mr. Madison had determined to put him forward for the succession. It is difficult to decide whether he was at first more the candidate of those who thought the administration not vigorous enough in its hostility to England, or of those who were opposed to war altogether. He had supporters among both classes, but ultimately he became the candidate chiefly of the peace party, with consequences which were most disastrous to himself. It was believed then, and long afterward, by those who were in a position to know, that if he had thrown in his fortunes with the administration at that time he, and not Mr. Monroe, would have been nominated and elected in 1816. But as it was, from that time forward he had no standing in national politics. His original nomination,

... of an apology for adopting the method of nomination terminated the proceedings. The spring elections of 1812 were unfavorable to publicans. Two or three of the New England States which had relapsed once more into the support of the party, were again carried by the Federalists. The South and West had united in declaring a war for the benefit of the North, while the North was opposed to the war. The fact that it had been declared, and that hostilities had already begun, served to arouse both a sentiment of national pride and a wish that the party which, seemingly in the event, was upholding the honor of the country, should be sustained. The contest therefore resolved itself largely into a struggle between the war and the peace parties. This became more fully apparent when, in September, a convention of Federalists, in which eleven States were represented, met in New York, and nominated Mr. Clinton for President and Mr. Jared Ingersoll of Pennsylvania for Vice-President.

Fourteen States took part in this election, Louisiana having been admitted to the Union on the 8th of April.

At this election two States, which had previously elected electors by popular vote, reverted, for that time, to the method of choice by the legislature. These were New Jersey and New York.

which would be made so late that the State could not be districted. Accordingly it was then enacted that the electors in 1812 should be chosen by the legislature. Such was the excuse given for the act, but it caused great excitement at the time; and, when the legislature met in 1812 to appoint the electors, there was much fear of popular outbreaks.

The proceedings in New Jersey were very extraordinary. There was a law passed in December, 1807, providing for the appointment of electors by the people. Owing to an irregularity in the time of the election of 1808 in that State, which the law required to be within thirty-four days of the time for the meeting of the electors, the legislature went through the form of appointing the electors already designated by popular vote, but the law of 1807 remained unrepealed. In the State election of 1812 the Republicans had a popular majority; but, owing to the peculiar apportionment of the State for the legislature, both branches were controlled by the Federalists. The annual meeting of the legislature was held in October; and on the 29th of that month, less than a week before the people were expecting to choose the electors, the legislature repealed the law of 1807, passed an act providing that electors should thereafter be chosen by the Council and General Assembly, and a few days afterward appointed eight federal electors.

The count of electoral votes, which took place on the 10th of February, 1813, in the Representatives' Hall, was marked by no incident worthy of notice. It was a proceeding in all respects similar to previous counts. The result was ascertained, and declared as follows:—

STATES.	James Madison,	De Witt Clinton,	Elbridge Gerry,	Total.
New Hampshire				
Vermont	1	0	1	2
Massachusetts	1	23	100	124
Rhode Island	1	0	1	2
Connecticut	1	0	1	2
New York	1	20	1	22
New Jersey	1	0	1	2
Pennsylvania	25	1	36	62
Delaware	1	4	1	6
Maryland	0	1	1	2
Virginia	25	1	25	51
North Carolina	15	1	15	31
South Carolina	11	1	11	23
Georgia	8	1	8	17
Kentucky	12	1	12	25
Tennessee	8	1	8	17
Louisiana	8	1	8	17
do	7	1	7	15
Total	128	89	181	398

It will be noticed that in the above table the vote of Maryland is divided, and that only one effective vote was given. On examining the votes of the State at former subsequent elections, it will be seen that in 1792

number in 1808; and that in 1824, 1828, and 1832, also, the vote of the State was divided. This was a very peculiar case. For while in several States the system of elections by districts prevailed a long time, — it was in vogue in 1824, in Maine, Massachusetts, Kentucky, Tennessee, and other States, — there was rarely a division of the votes. Yet Maryland, having by her district system given only eighteen effective votes altogether at the five elections 1796–1812, both inclusive, clung to it for twenty years longer.

His first election of Mr. Monroe possesses but little merit, and the second one still less. But his administration is noteworthy for a movement, at one time quite prominent, to amend the Constitution in respect to the manner of choosing the President. The matter of rendering the President ineligible for a second term, sometimes connected with a proposition to extend the term to six years, sometimes independent of it, was also much urged at the time, as it has been frequently since. It is mentioned here as a matter of record only, for it does not come within the scope of this book.

The war of 1812, and the peace of 1814, which became known in the country in February, 1815, virtually destroyed the Federalist party. Not to enter upon a discussion of the Hartford Convention, it was certainly deemed unpatriotic by a very large majority of the people; and, as the Federalist leaders in New England had been active agents in it, as well as bitter opponents of the war, the party fell into discredit, became a hopeless minority, and then was extinct, except in the Northern States. It still controlled Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Maryland, and occasionally New Jersey and Rhode Island; but in the South and West it had no organization whatever. The ascendancy of the Demo-

unopposed election and second election of Mr. Monroe, we are apt to think of him as the natural and easy choice of the people. As a matter of fact he was not a great favorite with Republican politicians. He was first nominated by a narrow majority. A meeting was called by an anonymous notice, dated March 10, 1816, inviting Republican senators and members of Congress to meet in the Representatives' Hall, on the 12th, "to take into consideration the propriety of nominating persons as candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States." Fifty-eight members attended this meeting, by which it was resolved to call a caucus for the 16th of the month, in the hope of a large attendance. Out of 141 Republican members, 118 attended the second caucus. The number was doubtless larger than it would have been, if there had not been a fear that the intrigues going on at the time in favor of Mr. Crawford might possibly succeed. The popular wish was for Mr. Monroe, beyond all question, but among the politicians the advocates of Crawford were numerous and active. Their exertions caused not a little anxiety; but the "National Intelligencer," while admitting by implication the chance that strategem might gain a preliminary victory, said, that, "If ever doubted, the public opinion has been recently so decidedly expressed as to leave little doubt that the prominent candidate will, in the end, unite the suffrage of the whole Republican party."

Notwithstanding the inducements to attend the caucus, there were twenty-four Republican absentees, of whom fifteen were known to be opposed to the caucus system of nomination. Immediately after an organization of the meeting was effected, Mr. Clay moved a resolution that it is inexpedient to present candidates. This motion was rejected—it is not recorded by what majority. But the

election of Mr. Monroe, by the narrow margin of eleven majority. Monroe had 65; Crawford, 54. The strength of the Crawford movement was chiefly in New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, Kentucky, and his own State of Georgia, which States gave him forty of his fifty-four votes. A ballot candidate for Vice-President gave Governor Daniel Tompkins of New York 85 votes, and he was nominated.

These proceedings startled everybody, not so much because of what had been done, for that the people were ready to approve, but because the members who assumed the right to make nominations had come making recommendations which would not have been accepted. Numerous meetings were held in various parts of the country to protest against the caucus system, the most noteworthy of which, perhaps, was held in Baltimore, in which meeting Roger B. Taney, afterwards Chief Justice, took a most prominent part.

The nomination being made, the presidential election was practically decided. There was no canvass, worth the name. In New England, the Federalists still held official control, but it was already slipping away from them. It is a remarkable fact that all the electoral votes against Mr. Monroe were given by electors who owed their appointments to State legislatures; for on this occasion Massachusetts

tures had exercised the right of appointment from the first, and continued to do so on this occasion.

The number of States whose votes were counted at this election was nineteen. Indiana, which had adopted a constitution in June, 1816, was admitted to the Union December 11, of that year. The question whether or not its electoral votes should be counted gave interest to the joint meeting of the two Houses of Congress in February, 1817. The table of electoral votes was as follows:—

STATES.	PRESIDENT.		VICE-PRESIDENT.				
	James Monroe, Va.	Rufus King, N. Y.	Daniel D. Tompkins, N. Y.	John A. Howard, Md.	James Ross, Penn.	John Marshall, Va.	Robert G. Harper, Md.
New Hampshire	3	—	■	—	—	—	—
Vermont	3	—	■	—	—	—	—
Massachusetts	—	22	—	22	—	—	—
Rhode Island	4	—	4	—	—	4	—
Connecticut	—	6	—	—	6	—	—
New York	29	—	29	—	—	—	—
New Jersey	8	—	8	—	—	—	—
Pennsylvania	25	—	25	—	—	—	—
Delaware	—	3	—	—	—	—	3
Maryland	8	—	■	—	—	—	—
Virginia	25	—	■	—	—	—	—
North Carolina	15	—	15	—	—	—	—
South Carolina	11	—	11	—	—	—	—
Georgia	8	—	8	—	—	—	—
Kentucky	12	—	■	—	—	—	—
Tennessee	8	—	8	—	—	—	—
Louisiana	8	—	8	—	—	—	—
Ohio	8	—	8	—	—	—	—
Indiana	8	—	8	—	—	—	—
Total	188	34	188	22	6	4	3

— member of the House of Representatives
Speaker of the body some years later, when the Mis
compromise was passed — arose, and, addressing
Speaker, expressed his regret at being compelled t
interrupt the proceedings, and to object to the vote
Indiana. He was proceeding to state his objections, v
the Speaker (Mr. Clay) stopped him and said that
two Houses had met for the single specified purpos
performing the constitutional duty which they were t
discharging; and that, while so acting in joint meet
they could consider no proposition nor perform any b
not prescribed by the Constitution.

At this point Mr. Varnum of Massachusetts, concurr
what the Speaker had said, suggested the propri
the Senate retiring, that the House of Representativ
might deliberate upon the question raised by one of
members. The President of the Senate put the questi
the senators, and it was agreed to, and the Senat
withdrew. Mr. Taylor immediately took the floor, a
said that, as Indiana was not a State in the Union at t
the election took place, its votes were no more en
to be counted than if they had come from Missouri
other Territory. He maintained that the questi
should be considered and decided now, when the res
should not be affected by it, and suggested that a
motion be made.

should not be a joint one, as, by establishing a precedent, it might some time thereafter, when the House and Senate should be opposed to each other, "deprive this House of one of its powers, by permitting the Senate to participate in this question." The discussion turned wholly upon the point whether or not Indiana was a State in the Union after it adopted its Constitution, and before it was admitted by a formal act of Congress. The power of Congress to reject the votes, if Indiana were not a State for purposes of the election, was questioned by no one. Finally, by an almost unanimous vote, the whole matter was indefinitely postponed, and the House sent a message to the Senate that it was prepared to resume the count.

Meanwhile a somewhat similar debate was taking place in the Senate, but, before a decision was reached, the message of the House was received. Thereupon the resolution which had been under discussion, declaring the votes of Indiana legal, was withdrawn by its mover, Mr. Barbour of Virginia, and the Senate returned to the Representatives' Hall. After the two Houses had assembled, the Speaker informed them that the House of Representatives "had not seen it necessary to come to any resolution or to take any order on the subject which had produced the separation of the two Houses." Thereupon the count was completed, the result declared, and the proceedings were terminated.

THE "ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS."

At no time in the history of the country has party feeling been so nearly absent as it was during Mr. Monroe's administration. The time has passed into history as the "era of good feelings." The Federalist party was almost extinct, even in New England and Delaware, and there was hardly a public man in office in any of the States who cared longer to urge the doctrines which had divided him from the Republican party, or, as it began to be called, the Democratic party. The election of 1820 was not even a contest. In the early part of the year there was a secret movement to supersede Mr. Monroe; but it did not promise well at any time, and died of itself without any effort on the part of Mr. Monroe or his friends. A caucus was called during the session of 1820; but only a few members attended it, and a resolution was adopted without opposition. The result of this election is well known. Mr. Monroe was elected by a vote which would have been absolutely unanimous had not one elector of New Hampshire deemed it

STATES.	PRESIDENT.		VICE-PRESIDENT.				
	James Monroe, N. Y.	John Quincy Adams, Mass.	Daniel D. Tompkins, N. Y.	Richard Stockton, N. J.	Robert G. Harper, Md.	Richard Rush, Penn.	Daniel Rodney, Del.
Maine	0	1	0				
New Hampshire	7	1	7			1	
Vermont	3	1	3				
Massachusetts	15	1	7	8			
Rhode Island	4	1	4				
Connecticut	9	1	9				
New York	29	1	29				
New Jersey	8	1	8				
Pennsylvania*	24	1	24				
Delaware	4	1					4
Maryland	11	1	10		1		
Virginia	26	1	26				
North Carolina	15	1	15				
South Carolina	11	1	11				
Georgia	8	1	8				
Alabama	8	1	8				
Mississippi*	2	1	2				
Louisiana	8	1	8				
Kentucky	12	1	12				
Tennessee*	7	1	7				
Ohio	8	1	8				
Indiana	8	1	8				
Illinois	8	1	8				
Missouri	8	1	8				
Total	281	1	218	8	1	1	4

* One elector in each of the States of Pennsylvania, Mississippi, and Tennessee died after appointment, and before the meetings of the electors.

Five new States participated in this election, namely: Mississippi, admitted Dec. 10, 1817; Illinois, admitted

...therefore, which had arisen in 1817 in relation to the right of Indiana to vote for President was again in a still more perplexing form than before. Whereas Indiana had become a State at the time the votes were counted, conditions had been attached to the admission of Missouri which had not yet been met at the time of the count, and it was not certain that the Legislature would accede to the demand of Congress. The conveni-
ence of a discussion upon this question, and the doubts of members as to the result of an attempt to decide it either in joint meeting or by the two Houses separately, led to the invention of a method of averting the point altogether. The joint committee of Congress, which was, in accordance with custom, appointed to examine and report a mode of examining the votes, reported in addition to the usual resolution, the following:—

Resolved, That if any objection be made to the votes of Missouri, and the counting, or omitting to count, which shall essentially change the result of the election, in that case they shall be reported by the President of the Senate in the following manner: Were the votes of Missouri to be counted, the result would be, for A. B. for President of the United States, — votes; if not counted, for A. B. for President of the United States, — votes. But in either event A. B. is elected President of the United States and in the same manner for Vice-President.

his intention thereafter to bring up the matter of electoral votes objected to, to repair what he considered a *casus omissus* in the Constitution, either by an act of Congress, if that should appear sufficient, or by an amendment to the Constitution.

The discussion in the House was of a different character. Mr. John Randolph attacked the resolution providing for an alternative statement of the vote of Missouri, on constitutional grounds. He could not recognize in either House, or in both conjoined, the power to decide on the votes of any State. The Electoral Colleges were as independent of Congress as Congress was of them; and he would rather see an interregnum, or to see no votes at all counted, than that a principle should be adopted which went to the very foundation on which the presidential office rested. Several other gentlemen took similar views. The opposing argument was presented by Mr. Clay, then a private member, who said that Congress had been entrusted with the duty of enumerating the votes for President, and it was necessary for the two Houses to determine what were votes.

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 90 to 67, but the concurrence of the two Houses did not end the matter. When the votes of Missouri were announced by the President of the Senate and handed to the tellers, Mr. Livermore of New Hampshire, a member of the House, addressing the President and the Speaker, objected to them on the ground that Missouri was not a State in the Union. The Senate thereupon retired, a motion to that effect having been put by the President. The Senate does not appear to have taken any action upon the objection, but in the House a long debate took place on a resolution that the votes ought to be counted. Mr. Randolph made himself the most conspicuous person in this discus-

—... to return. The count then proceeded, the result was declared in accordance with the prescribed form. Thereupon Mr. Floyd, and after him Mr. Randolph, both of Virginia, rose and attempted to interfere with what had been done with the votes of Missouri. Their voices were drowned by cries of "Order," and they were required to resume their seats. The Senate then resumed and Mr. Randolph made another violent speech, which was closed by proposing a series of resolutions, reciting that the votes of Missouri have been counted; but that the announcement of the whole number of electors appointed, and of the votes given by them, has not been declared "agreeably to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and that therefore the proceedings have been irregular and illegal." While Mr. Randolph was reducing these resolutions to writing, a motion was made and carried to adjourn, and nothing more was heard from them.

Questions concerning the presidential election system and the electoral count were much discussed during Andrew Jackson's administration, and at one time the prospect of submitting to the States for ratification an amendment to the Constitution, so that all elections might be uniform.

system of choosing one person as President, and another as Vice-President, that all electors should be chosen by popular vote, the States to be divided for that purpose into districts. Although the matter was somewhat discussed in the newspapers from time to time, it does not appear to have been heard of again in Congress until the close of 1813. On December 20 of that year, Mr. Pickens of North Carolina introduced in the House a proposition to amend the Constitution in this respect, and made a long speech in support of the measure. He referred to the popular excitement which had prevailed in his State in consequence of the act of the legislature of North Carolina depriving the people of the right to choose electors, in 1812, as the reason for bringing the matter to the attention of Congress. The resolution for submitting the amendment to the States was negatived after some debate, 57 voting in favor of, and 70 against it.

Mr. Pickens introduced the subject again on one or two occasions after this defeat, but he did not press the amendment further until 1816. In December of that year he once more presented his resolution, in a new form, embracing two propositions. It provided that the States should be divided into districts for the choice of representatives in Congress, and also into single districts for the choice of electors. After some debate in Committee of the Whole, the House adopted the principle of the district system for representatives, by a vote of 86 to 38. That part of the system which related to electors was approved by 87 votes against 51, but as this was not a two-thirds majority, the House never took the subject up.

At the next session two amendments, in almost identical words, were introduced, by Mr. Dickerson of New Jersey, and by Mr. Macon of North Carolina, in the Senate. Subsequently the proposition relating to electors

... by 20 in favor to 13 opposed, — not two thirds.
Again in 1818 Mr. Sanford of New York introduced
amendment in the Senate, by instruction of the
York legislature, — as on previous occasions it had
introduced by others according to instructions from
legislatures of New Jersey and North Carolina.
time a great deal of attention was paid to the matter.
It was debated at much length, three times referred to
committees, and at last passed by a vote of 28 to 12.
In the House, it was laid on the table by 79 to 73. It
was introduced in the Senate again in 1819, by Mr. Dickerson
and was again passed, — this time without debate, by 29 to 11.
Having been debated in the House, it was agreed to
refer it to the Committee of the Whole; but when it was reported
to the House it was laid on the table, and never taken up.
Yet at the same session Mr. Smith of North Carolina
introduced this identical amendment, and, after debate,
it was passed to a third reading by a vote of 103 to 77.
but on the question of its passage it was lost, 92 voting
in favor and 54 against it, — not two thirds. The proposition
never again came so near to success; but it was
abandoned, and as late as March, 1822, the Senate agreed
to pass the amendment by 29 to 11. The House did
not take the matter up for consideration.

Another effort was made during Mr. Madison's administration.

1824. It covered the whole ground of the election and the count. The electors were to make five lists of their votes instead of three. One of these was to be sent to the seat of government by a messenger, two were to be deposited in the post-office and forwarded by two successive mails to the President of the Senate, and the other two were to be delivered to the judge of the district in which the electoral meeting was held. This was the only change proposed in the method of electing the President. The important section was the fifth, as follows:—

SECTION 5. That at twelve o'clock of the day appointed for counting the votes that may be given at the next election for President and Vice-President, the Senate and House of Representatives shall meet in the hall of the House of Representatives, and on all future occasions in the centre-room of the Capitol, at which meeting the President of the Senate shall be the presiding officer, but no debate shall be had nor question taken. The packet containing the certificates from the electors of each State shall then be opened by the President of the Senate, beginning with the State of New Hampshire and going through to Georgia, in the order in which the thirteen original States are enumerated in the Constitution, and afterwards through the other States in the order in which they were respectively admitted into the Union; and if no exceptions are taken thereto, all the votes contained in such certificates shall be counted; but if any exceptions be taken, the person taking the same shall state it in writing directly, and not argumentatively, and sign his name thereto; and if the exception be seconded by one member from the Senate and one member from the House of Representatives, and each of whom shall sign the said exception as having seconded the same, the exception shall be read by the President of the Senate, and then each House shall immediately retire, without question or debate, to its own apartment, and shall take the question on the exception, without debate, by ayes and noes. So soon as the question shall be taken in either House, a message shall be sent to the other informing them of the decision of the question, and that the House sending the message is prepared to resume the count; and when such message shall have been received by both Houses, they shall meet again in the same room as before, and the

~~... cannot be completed.~~

The bill was sent to the House for concurrence, w
was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, an
reported back by Mr. Webster on the 10th of May,
out amendment. It was then referred to the Comi
of the Whole, and was never taken up for consider

XI.

THE SECOND ADAMS.

THE election of 1824 was unlike any other before or since; and in certain respects it is the most interesting contest of the long series. The Federal party was practically extinct. Only in a few of the States did it make a pretence of existing still, and it was in power nowhere. There were great political contests during Mr. Monroe's presidency, notably that over the admission of Missouri in 1820, but they were not party struggles. Substantially all the statesmen and newspapers of the country professed the same constitutional principles. But the "era of good feelings," in the strict sense of the phrase, was of short duration. The succession to the presidency was to be the issue upon which the foundations of the new parties were to be laid.

The election was really pending almost three years. As early as April, 1822, Niles's "Register" remarked that there were already sixteen or seventeen candidates for the succession to Mr. Monroe; and very soon after that the discussion of "caucus or no caucus?" began in earnest. It was universally understood that Mr. W. H. Crawford of Georgia, the Secretary of the Treasury, was the candidate preferred by the President, who, however, did not obtrude his wishes upon the public in an unseemly manner. It was also known that the caucus, if one should be held, would be in the interest of Mr. Crawford.

Before the close of the year 1822, the minor candidates had been dropped, and there were six only before the

...son, ex-Governor of New York, also in
at the time; William H. Crawford, Secretary
Treasury; and General Andrew Jackson, who h
time held no civil office at Washington. The fir
candidates to be put in formal nomination was
who was "recommended as a suitable person t
James Monroe as President," by the members of
tucky legislature on the 18th of November, 1822
address which accompanied this resolution. the
of the meeting placed their preference upon 'a
affection for and a strong confidence in their disti
fellow-citizen"; and their feeling that the time h
"when the people of the West may, with some coi
appeal to the magnanimity of the whole Union for
able consideration of their equal and just claim
participation in the executive government of these
They nevertheless made the first consideration m
more prominent and important. The members
Missouri legislature held a meeting about the sam
and adopted a resolution recommending Mr. Clay.
lar action was taken in Illinois and Ohio in Januar
and in Louisiana in March of the same year.

General Jackson seems first to have been noi
formally — although it was well understood long
that he was a candidate — by a mass convention

1824; Mr. Clinton by several counties in Ohio; Mr. Calhoun by the legislature of South Carolina; Mr. Crawford by the legislature of Virginia. Nominations, however, went for very little in those days. The people of one county might be all for a certain candidate, while those in the adjoining county would prefer another of the six quite as strongly.

It was a personal contest. In not one of the numerous series of resolutions in which the several candidates were presented was it alleged that there was any difference in their principles. The services, the ability, the integrity, and the eminent fitness of each gentleman were set forth in terms of high praise, but there was little or no disparagement of the others. On one point, however, there was strong feeling,—there was great opposition to the caucus. The friends of all the candidates except Mr. Crawford were angrily against that. Nor was this an afterthought. Much ill feeling had been excited throughout the country by the assumption, on the part of Congress, of the right to dictate who should be the regular candidate, at earlier elections. Now it was purely a question of persons, and there was a general expression of hostility to the system; but the very fact that it was a question of persons was one of the arguments used by the caucus party. They said that the result of a division of the electoral votes among several candidates would be deplorable, and that the members of Congress were in the best position to judge who, among half a dozen good men named, would make the best President.

The caucus party made an attempt to secure a meeting of members of Congress for the purpose of making a nomination as early as the session of 1822–23, but it met with little support. Some of those who were in favor of the practice believed that action at the time would be

advocates of either of the other candidates to change their line of action and support Mr. Crawford. The caucus party persisted, and carried out their plan. On the 6th of February, 1824, a notice was printed, signed by eleven persons, six senators and five representatives from as many States in the Union, calling a meeting of the Democratic members of Congress to meet in the Representatives' Chamber on the evening of February 14, to recommend candidates to the people of the United States for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States." At the same time appeared a card signed by twenty-four senators and members, representing fifteen States, in which it was asserted that they had satisfactory information that of the two hundred and sixty-one senators and representatives, there were a hundred and eighty-one "who deemed it inexpedient, under existing circumstances, to meet in caucus" for the purpose named.

The event showed that their canvass was very near correct. Only sixty-six members met. They represented fifteen States of the Union, but a very large majority of them were from four States. New York supplied sixteen of the whole delegation numbering thirty-six; Virginia, fourteen out of a possible twenty-four; North Carolina ten of a delegation of fifteen; while eight of the nine Georgia members were present. Thus four States--

for six weeks in order to have a fuller meeting, but it was opposed by Mr. Van Buren, and voted down. The caucus then proceeded to ballot for a candidate for President. The result was as follows: William H. Crawford had 64; John Quincy Adams, 2; Andrew Jackson, 1; Nathaniel Macon, 1. Two absent members, one each from Virginia and Georgia, voted by proxy.

The caucus then proceeded to ballot for a candidate for Vice-President. Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania had 57 votes; Erastus Root of New York, 2; and the following-named, one each: John Q. Adams, William Eustis of Massachusetts, Samuel Smith of Maryland, William King of Maine, Richard Rush of Pennsylvania, John Tod of Pennsylvania, and Walter Lowrie of Pennsylvania. The caucus then adopted a resolution formally recommending Messrs. Crawford and Gallatin, and declaring that:—

In making the foregoing recommendation, the members of this meeting have acted in their individual characters as citizens; that they have been induced to this measure from a deep and settled conviction of the importance of union among Republicans throughout the United States, and as the best means of collecting and concentrating the feelings and wishes of the people of the Union upon this important subject.

The caucus did not help the cause of Mr. Crawford. On the contrary, it united the opponents of that gentleman to a certain extent. The hostility to the dictation of Congress, and more particularly to that of a small minority of the two Houses, was very strong. The nomination of Mr. Gallatin had been made with a view to securing the vote of Pennsylvania for the ticket, but it had no such effect. On the contrary, a war was at once opened upon him as "a foreigner," and, however unjust the assaults may have been, they had their effect. Pennsylvania was evi-

have a favorable effect on the result of the approaching election of President and Vice-President of the United States." The idea at the time seems to have been that a coalition might be made between the friends of Mr. () and those of Mr. Clay, by which the latter should be supported for the second place. However that may have been, the withdrawal of Mr. Gallatin had no perceptible effect upon the canvass.

The campaign itself offers nothing of interest. Arguments used, except upon the subject of the canes, were purely personal, and added nothing to political controversy. But it was foreseen that each of the four candidates would receive a good vote; that no one could rely to receive the support of a majority of the electors; and that, under the Constitution, only three of the four could go before the House of Representatives as candidates for election by that body. Consequently there was a determined effort on the part of the friends of each of the four to get as many electoral votes as possible, inefficient though they were to be in deciding the result.

Twenty-four States took part in the election. Electors were chosen by the legislatures of Vermont, New York, Delaware, South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana. In the other States they were elected by the people. These were, Massachusetts, Maryland, Illinois and Kentucky.

of the candidates. The law for all elections by the legislature prescribed separate balloting by the two branches until a choice had been made by each. If the two branches agreed in the election, they met in joint convention and declared the result. If different persons had been elected, the choice was determined by joint ballot. The election began on the 10th of November. On that day the Senate made choice of the Crawford electors. The senators were divided in their preferences thus: for Crawford, 17; for Adams, 7; for Clay, 7. In the Assembly there was no choice: the Crawford ticket had 43 votes, the Adams 50, the Clay 32. Combined, therefore, the strength of the three candidates was: Crawford, 60; Adams, 57; Clay, 39. The balloting in the Assembly continued on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of November with the change of only a single vote. On the last of the three days, some of the Crawford men announced their purpose of voting for the Adams ticket in order to transfer the contest to a joint convention and to defeat Mr. Clay. This threat produced an effect upon the Clay men, who on the following day voted for the Adams ticket themselves and secured a majority for it. The fact that an election had been effected by the Assembly was hurriedly communicated to some of the Crawford senators before the official notice could be sent, and the Senate hastily adjourned. On Monday, the 15th, the joint convention was held, and a ballot was taken. The whole number of ballots was 157, but three of them were blank votes. Seven friends of Mr. Clay, who had been placed upon the Crawford ticket in hope of attracting support for the whole ticket by the Clay men, had 95 votes. The rest of the Crawford ticket had 76 votes. Twenty-five of the names on the Adams ticket had 78 votes each. This number, 78, was exactly a majority of 154, the number of effective ballots, but one less than a

... tumult and confusion such as has
taken place in a legislative body ensued; and in the
the presiding officer, followed by the sixteen Craw
nators, left the Assembly Chamber. But at last
resolution was separately adopted. The two branches
again, and completed the election by the choice of
Crawford men by a bare majority. At the meeting of
electors, however, three of the Clay electors deserted
and went, one each, to Adams, Crawford, and Jack

But for this defection, Clay and Crawford would have
had an equal number of electoral votes. In that case
Adams and Jackson only would have been eligible candi
dates before the House of Representatives.

In Delaware there was another question of a somewhat
similar character. The number of members present at the
joint meeting of the two houses of the legislature was
thirty. One elector (for Adams) received 21, and was
elected. Two others, Crawford men, had 15 votes
each, and seven other candidates had from 1 to 10 each.
The law of Delaware provided that "if an equal division of
ballots shall appear for two or more persons, not decided
by a majority of the votes, the Speaker of the House
shall have an additional casting vote." This was
clearly not a case of the kind contemplated by the statute,
which intended that the Speaker should decide in case of

It has gone into history that General Jackson received a large plurality of the popular vote at this election. In Lanman's "Biographical Annals" the popular vote is set down as follows:—

For Jackson	152,899
" Adams	105,821
" Crawford	47,265
" Clay	47,087

This is a most misleading statement, even if it were accurate. It credits to Jackson a great many votes which, like the 20,000 in North Carolina, were cast for no candidate in particular, but in opposition to the caucus ticket generally, and of which it was estimated at the time that 5,000 were given by friends of Adams; and other votes which, in some Northern States, were cast against Adams generally, without being for any particular candidate. But its inaccuracy arises chiefly from two other causes. In the first place it does not include the votes of States where a choice was made by the legislature. These six States gave in the aggregate only 19 votes to Jackson, 36 to Adams, 6 to Crawford, and 4 to Clay. Jackson did not appear at all as a candidate in New York, except that on one day in the Assembly an attempt was made to create a diversion by a few Crawford men who voted a Jackson ticket. Again, there were real contests in very few of the States, so that the partisans of neither candidate were fully represented at the polls. Massachusetts cast more than 66,000 votes for governor in May, 1823, and only 37,000 for President in 1824. The whole vote of Virginia was less than 15,000. Other examples of an apparent lack of interest might be given; but they only show that the triumph of Mr. Adams in Massachusetts and other States, of Mr. Crawford in Virginia and other States, and so forth, was taken for granted, and that a full vote was

TABLE OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

The actual popular vote for the several candidates as can be ascertained, — though, as has been shown, the statistics of the election are misleading, — when all the circumstances are taken into account, — was

	Jackson.	Adams.	Crawford.	Clay.
...	—	10,289	2,336*	—
...	643	4,107	—	—
...	—	—	—	—
...	—	30,637	6,616*	—
...	—	2,145	200*	—
...	—	7,587	1,978*	—
...	—	—	—	—
...	10,986	9,110	1,190†	—
...	88,100	5,440	4,206	1,609
...	—	—	—	—
...	14,523	14,632	3,646	695
...	2,861	3,189	8,489	416
...	20,415†	—	15,621	—
...	—	—	—	—
...	—	—	—	—
...	9,443	3,416	1,680	67
...	3,234	1,694	119	—
...	—	—	—	—

securing a place among the first three candidates. Congress met on the 6th of December, five days after the meeting of the electors. Although it was known that there had been no choice of a President, no notice was taken of the fact until the 13th of January, 1825, when Mr. Wright of Ohio offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee —

To prepare and report such rules as, in their opinion, may be proper to be observed by this House in the choice of a President of the United States, for the period of four years, from the 4th day of March next, if, on counting the votes given in the several States, in the manner prescribed in the Constitution of the United States, it shall appear that no person has received a majority of all the electors of President and Vice-President appointed in the several States.

This resolution was adopted on the 18th of January, and the committee was appointed, which reported, on the 26th, a plan that was in some respects different from that adopted in 1801, but the changes were so unimportant that they need not be noted.

The Senate proposed, on the 1st of February, to raise a joint committee "to ascertain and report a mode of examining the votes," in the usual form. The committee was appointed, and reported a resolution similar to those adopted in former years, but containing a clause made necessary by the fact that there was no choice of a President. When this resolution came up in the Senate, Mr. Eaton of Tennessee moved to add a new paragraph to the effect that, if objection should be made to any vote, it should be filed in writing and entered on the Journals of the two Houses; that the two Houses should not separate until all the votes had been counted and reported; but that the report of the result should be "liable to be controlled and altered by the decision to be made by the

HISTORY OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

es after their separation, relative to any objections
be made," provided that no objection should be
valid unless so voted by both Houses.

n Buren opposed this clause, and after debate it
ted. No objections were made, it may be said
ny votes, at the time of the count; but in May,
election, Mr. Wilde of Georgia introduced in
e of Representatives a resolution that a message
the Senate requesting copies of all the certifi-
electoral votes. In a long speech he gave his
making this motion, which was that very few
ificates were strictly correct and in due form.
er did not assert that the electors voted in
allots for President and Vice-President, or they
port a vote by ballot at all, — distinct ballots being
by the Constitution. The resolution was opposed
ound that it was too late, and that "the elections
tes were not subject to revision by Congress,"
otion, was laid on the table. —

the day for counting the votes, February 9,
a great scandal in the House of Representatives.

delphia, on January 28, dated at Washington, from which the following is extracted : —

For some time past, the friends of Clay have hinted that they, like the Swiss, would fight for those who would pay best. Overtures were said to have been made by the friends of Adams to the friends of Clay, offering him the appointment of Secretary of State, for his aid to elect Adams. And the friends of Clay gave this information to the friends of Jackson, and hinted that, if the friends of Jackson would offer the same price, they would close with them.

There was very much more of the same sort, but this contains the substance of the charge. Mr. Clay at once published a card in which he asserted that he believed the letter was a forgery, "but, if it be genuine, I pronounce the member, whoever he may be, a base and infamous calumniator, a dastard, and a liar." Mr. George Kremer of Pennsylvania avowed himself the author of the letter, and asserted his ability to prove his assertions. The matter was brought to the attention of the House by Mr. Clay, who was speaker of the House at the time, and a committee was raised to inquire into the matter. Mr. Kremer declined to appear before the committee in a long and labored but weak letter. The affair afterwards drifted into a newspaper fight. Mr. Kremer produced some of his so-called proofs, citing certain gentlemen as authority; but many of the latter printed cards in which they denied Mr. Kremer's assertions. The controversy was a very acrimonious one; but the general judgment, except among those who were sore over the defeat of General Jackson, was, that Mr. Clay had acted an honorable part. It was true that he had not been on very good terms with Mr. Adams, in consequence of a dispute over certain matters connected with the negotiations at Ghent ten years before; and the Legislature of Kentucky had asked the Kentucky

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to vote for Jackson. But there were good and reasons, of a public as well as of a personal nature, why he should cast his influence in favor of Mr. Adams. It is fair to believe that they controlled him. Many years before the controversy over the alleged forgery died out wholly.

Mr. Scott was not the only member who brought down upon himself the wrath of Jackson's supporters for supporting Adams. Mr. Scott of Missouri, the sole member of the Senate, was an old friend and companion in politics of Senator Benton. The latter was even then, as in all his life, a thick-and-thin partisan of the hero of New Orleans. When Mr. Scott announced his intention of supporting Adams, Senator Benton wrote a solemn letter in which he said that the act he was about to perform was as grave a crime. "For nine years," he wrote, "I have been closely connected in our political course; and now the connection is dissolved, and dissolved under circumstances which denounce our everlasting separation. To-day is the day for your self-immolation. If you are your enemy he may go and feed his eyes upon the

STATES.	PRESIDENT.				VICE PRESIDENT.					
	Andrew Jackson, Tenn.	J. Q. Adams, Mass.	W. H. Crawford, Ga.	H. Clay, Ky.	John C. Calhoun, S. C.	Nathan Sanford, N. Y.	Nathaniel Macon, N. C.	Andrew Jackson, Tenn.	Van Buren, N. Y.	H. Clay, Ky.
Maine	—	0	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—
New Hampshire .	—	0	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—
Vermont	—	7	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—
Massachusetts . .	—	15	—	—	15	—	—	—	—	—
Rhode Island . . .	—	4	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—
Connecticut	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	0	—	—
New York	1	20	5	4	20	7	—	—	—	—
New Jersey	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pennsylvania . . .	23	—	—	—	23	—	—	—	—	—
Delaware	—	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Maryland	7	8	1	—	10	—	—	1	—	—
Virginia	—	—	24	—	—	—	24	—	—	—
North Carolina . .	15	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	—	—
South Carolina . .	11	—	—	—	11	—	—	—	—	—
Georgia	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	9	—
Alabama	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mississippi	3	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
Louisiana	3	2	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—
Kentucky	—	—	—	14	7	7	—	—	—	—
Tennessee	11	—	—	—	11	—	—	—	—	—
Missouri	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	8	—	—
Ohio	—	—	—	16	—	16	—	—	—	—
Indiana	5	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—
Illinois	2	1	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
Total	99	84	41	37	183	30	24	18	9	9

The President of the Senate (Mr. Gaillard) then declared that no person had received a majority of the votes given for President of the United States; that Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and William H. Crawford,

The Senate having retired, the House immediately proceeded to elect a President. A roll-call showed that the only member of the House except Mr. Garnett of Vermont who was sick at his lodgings in Washington, was Mr. Webster of Massachusetts and Mr. Randolph of Virginia were appointed tellers. The House conducted the election according to the rules already adopted. On the first ballot John Quincy Adams was chosen. Votes of thirteen States were given to him, those of four to Jackson, and of four to Crawford. The Speaker declared Mr. Adams elected, and notice of the result was sent to the Senate. The votes of the States are given by the following table, which indicates both the divisions within the delegations, and the person for whom the votes of each State was given.

STATES.	Adams.	Jackson.	Crawford.	VOTE FOR—
Maine	7	—	—	Adams.
New Hampshire . . .	6	—	—	Adams.
Vermont	5	—	—	Adams.
Massachusetts . . .	12	1	—	Adams.
Rhode Island	2	—	—	Adams.
Connecticut	6	—	—	Adams.
New York	18	2	14	Adams.
New Jersey	1	5	—	Jackson.
Pennsylvania	1	25	—	Jackson.
Delaware	—	—	1	Crawford.
Maryland	5	8	1	Adams.
Virginia	1	1	19	Crawford.
North Carolina . . .	1	2	10	Crawford.
South Carolina . . .	—	9	—	Jackson.
Georgia	—	—	7	Crawford.
Alabama	—	3	—	Jackson.
Mississippi	—	1	—	Jackson.
Louisiana	2	1	—	Adams.
Kentucky	8	4	—	Adams.
Tennessee	—	9	—	Jackson.
Missouri	1	—	—	Adams.
Ohio	10	2	2	Adams.
Indiana	—	3	—	Jackson.
Illinois	1	—	—	Adams.
	87	71	54	

The bitterness of this election did not cease when a choice had been effected; and the “Annals of Congress” show that the desirability of making another change in the Constitution, so as to prevent the calamity of an election by the House of Representatives, was urged by many members. But no action was taken, and fortunately there has been no need of such another election during the sixty years which have elapsed since Mr. Adams was chosen.

XII.

JACKSON'S TRIUMPH.

It was during the administration of the second President that parties took the form which they were to retain for the next quarter of a century. The friends of Jackson were angry that he had not been elected instead of Mr. Adams, and the friends of Mr. Adams were also greatly irritated. The choice of Mr. Adams as Secretary of State was especially a source of irritation to them. Although all politicians throughout the country professed the same constitutional principles, it was evident from the very beginning of Mr. Adams's term that his administration was to be strongly, bitterly opposed, and thwarted in its designs. General Jackson was not to be outrun in the opposition by any one. In October, 1825, before the President had met Congress at all, and before he had delivered his inaugural address, which was expected with much spirit, and well received by the country — what was to be, the Tennessee legislature nominated General Jackson for the succession. He accepted the nomination, and delivered an address which he delivered before the two Houses of the Tennessee Legislature, and resigned his seat in the Senate.

Thus the presidential canvass was begun before the electors were assembled.

an administration they seldom fail. Especially was it easy to create an opposition party when a gentleman of so positive a character as Mr. Adams was at the head of affairs. His measures were such as gave room for wide difference of opinion. He had been the real author of the Monroe doctrine, and the proposition for a conference of American republics was one which was very dear to him; but his wishes were opposed and his plans thwarted. He was opposed in domestic politics, too, and his enemies could find nothing good in his propositions. They assailed his position on the tariff, although General Jackson had voted in the Senate for protection. They denounced the internal improvements policy as unconstitutional, although Jackson had voted for that also. They professed anger at the extravagance of the administration, because the expenditures had increased,—forgetting, or refusing to admit the validity of the argument, that the country was growing,—and preached economy, which was certainly not the distinguishing characteristic of Jackson's administration.

After the nomination of General Jackson by the Tennessee legislature, that gentleman received a great many similar nominations from conventions and meetings in all parts of the country; but in order to make his election certain it was necessary to combine the friends of Crawford with the "Jacksonians." This is supposed to have been effected in the course of a Southern tour made by Mr. Churchill C. Cambreleng, a great figure in New York politics at the time, and a member of Congress from the city of New York, from 1821 to 1839. Mr. Van Buren, a Crawford man in 1824, and a believer in the caucus system of nominating presidential candidates as long as he lived, was now a Jackson partisan and an advocate of the coalition. Mr. Calhoun, the Vice-Presi-

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een one of the active spirits of the opposition
y beginning.

ther side were the friends of Mr. Adams, and
partisans of Clay whom the latter could carry
ort of the administration. But Mr. Adams
n for the highest offices, seek out his friends
ent, and during his whole term he only made
is from office, both for cause. More than one
bers of his cabinet had been opposed to his
l only Mr. Clay could or did exercise any
political influence in his favor. An adminis-
h sought favor only upon its own merits, and
the wisdom of its measures, — measures upon
e opinion was greatly and honestly divided, —
ch for the sharp politicians and the vigilant
ho were against it.

riends of the administration believed, or pro-
believe, to the last moment, that Mr. Adams
elected. They classed Pennsylvania among
l States, counted confidently upon the new
northwest, — Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, — and

1828 was unchanged, — twenty-four. Since the preceding election, however, there had been a very general change on the part of those States which had previously chosen electors through the medium of the legislature, to the popular system. Of the six States wherein the legislature had exercised this privilege in 1824, four changed to a popular election before 1828, — Vermont, New York, Georgia, and Louisiana. The change in New York was not effected without a great agitation of the people. The legislature held to the powers it exercised as long as it dared. Governor De Witt Clinton recommended the change to the legislature at a special session called in 1820, on which occasion the Senate of New York refused to perform any legislative duty whatever, and treated the Governor with such open disrespect as has hardly ever been shown toward a State executive by any department of government. A bill was passed once, perhaps twice, by one branch of the legislature, some years later, to confer the right on the people, but the other branch rejected it. At last, affecting a doubt whether the people really cared for the privilege, the question was formally submitted to them. If there had been any real doubts the result of the popular vote speedily dispelled them, and the legislature reluctantly yielded to the urgent demand.

But there still existed differences in the systems of election, even among those where there was an appointment of electors by popular vote. In the following States the election of 1828 was by general ticket, — the system which is now universal: New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, — eighteen. Some of these, like Massachusetts, New Jersey, and North Carolina, having

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any years (see pp. 74 *et seq.*) to secure the
 em by amendment of the Constitution, had
 success, and adopted the general ticket. Of
 tes not named above, two, Delaware and
 ina, clung to the old method of legislative
 . In Maine and New York, an elector was
 each representative district, and the members
 chose the two additional electors. In Mary-
 nnessee, the States were specially divided into
 the choice of all their electors. There was,
 divided vote of the electors in only three of

Following table shows the popular vote of the
 the manner of choosing electors in each : —

S.	Jackson.	Adams.	Mode of Election.
. . .	18,927	20,788	Districts.
re . .	20,922	24,184	General ticket.
. . .	8,850	25,868	General ticket.
. . .	6,010	29,876	General ticket.
. . .	821	2,754	General ticket.
	4,448	13,838	General ticket.

The electoral count was quite devoid of incident. The result, which was ascertained and declared in the usual manner, was as follows:—

STATES.	PRESIDENT.		VICE-PRESIDENT.		
	Andrew Jackson, Tenn.	John Quincy Adams, Mass.	John C. Calhoun, S. C.	Richard Rush, Penn.	William Smith, S. C.
Maine	1	3	1	3	—
New Hampshire	—	3	—	3	—
Vermont	—	3	—	3	—
Massachusetts	—	15	—	15	—
Rhode Island	—	4	—	4	—
Connecticut	—	8	—	8	—
New York	20	16	20	16	—
New Jersey	—	8	—	8	—
Pennsylvania	28	—	28	—	—
Delaware	—	3	—	3	—
Maryland	5	6	5	6	—
Virginia	24	—	24	—	—
North Carolina	15	—	15	—	—
South Carolina	11	—	11	—	—
Georgia	9	—	9	—	7
Alabama	5	—	5	—	—
Mississippi	3	—	3	—	—
Louisiana	5	—	5	—	—
Kentucky	14	—	14	—	—
Tennessee	11	—	11	—	—
Ohio	16	—	16	—	—
Indiana	5	—	5	—	—
Illinois	3	—	3	—	—
Missouri	3	—	3	—	—
Totals	178	88	171	88	7

XIII.

JACKSON'S SECOND ELECTION.

the latter and violent period in American politics. The accession of Andrew Jackson to the presidency. The turmoil commenced with the President's practice of not indiscriminate, removals from office, the practice of rewarding his friends and punishing his enemies. The six Presidents who had preceded him made only seventy-four removals in the forty years which their terms extended. Jackson removed twice as many in the first nine months of his presidency. The hot debates over the tariff, the nullification questions, and internal improvements, were themselves to have rendered the politics of the period interesting; but the matters in which the Presi-

took place in 1832. Mr. Van Buren was, perhaps, the central figure in all the schemes and arrangements. He was credited with a large share in the break-up of the cabinet, in which he was Secretary of State; he fanned the flame of discord in the relations between Jackson and Calhoun; he persuaded the President, against his expressed intention, to become a candidate for a second term; he was an adept in the art of distributing office so as to promote political and personal ends; he knew how to make use of his own rejection by the Senate to make himself "Vice-President now, and President afterwards."

Jackson was a President unlike any of his predecessors; but he was the man of his time. He could not help alienating those who regarded government as a serious business, to be conducted from high motives and with decorum; but at the same time he attracted more than he repelled. Like all men of strong will and fixed purpose, he attached some politicians to him by gratitude and some by fear; and the people at large had for him an admiration which neither his quality as a statesman nor his skill as a politician justified. It is impossible not to see that he lowered the dignity of his office, demoralized the public service, degraded politics to the level of a game in which the sharpest and the strongest, rather than the best and wisest, were to come off victors, and yet that in all this he pleased the men of his own generation more than he offended them; and, when the appeal was to be made to the voters of the country to pass judgment upon his doings, a compact, enthusiastic body of supporters was behind him, while the Opposition was disorganized and discordant. It was united only in opposition to him; but, had all its elements been joined in one party, his defeat could not have been accomplished.

The canvass began early. The first party in the field was

in September, 1830, a national convention of Anti-Ma was held in Philadelphia. Ten States, including four England States, New York, Ohio, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, and the Territory of Michigan, were represented by 96 delegates. It was voted to hold a second national convention in Baltimore on 26th of September, 1831, to be composed of delegates equal in number to the representatives in both Houses of Congress from each State, and to be chosen by the people opposed to secret societies, for the purpose of making nominations for the offices of President and Vice-President.

The convention was held at the time and place designated. Delegates to the number of 112 were present from all the States represented in the convention of 1830 and from Maine, New Hampshire, and Indiana besides William Wirt of Maryland was nominated for President and Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania for Vice-President. Mr. Wirt had been Attorney-General during the whole of the terms of Presidents Monroe and Adams, and was believed that he could unite all the opposition to Jackson. He was nominated for that purpose. Indeed it had been intended by the Anti-Masons, before the convention, to nominate Judge John M'Lean of Ohio, former Postmaster-General, whom Jackson had transferred from that office to the Supreme Court in order that

Judge M'Lean, that gentleman withdrew his name. The Anti-Masonic convention did not adopt a platform, but issued a very long and diffuse address to the people of the country.

The next convention was that of the National Republicans. They met at Baltimore on Dec. 12, 1831. Seventeen States were represented by 157 delegates. All the Northern States of the East and West, except Illinois, sent delegates; but only Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana, of the Southern States, did so. Henry Clay of Kentucky was nominated by a unanimous vote for President, and John Sergeant of Pennsylvania by a similar vote for Vice-President. No resolutions were adopted, but the convention issued an address severely criticising the administration for its corruption, partisanship, and abuse of power; for the hostility it had manifested to internal improvement, for treachery on the tariff question, for the war on the bank, and for the humiliating surrender to Georgia in the matter of the Cherokee Indians. By recommendation of this convention a national assembly of young men met in Washington in May, 1832, which accepted the nominations made by the National Republicans and adopted the following series of resolutions, — the first platform ever adopted by a national convention: —

1. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this convention, although the fundamental principles adopted by our fathers, as a basis upon which to raise a superstructure of American independence, can never be annihilated, yet the time has come when nothing short of the united energies of all the friends of the American republic can be relied on to sustain and perpetuate that hallowed work.

2. *Resolved*, That an adequate protection to American industry is indispensable to the prosperity of the country; and that an abandonment of the policy at this period would be attended with consequences ruinous to the best interests of the nation.

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6. That a uniform system of internal improvements, supported by the general government, is calculated to promote the highest degree, harmony, the strength, and the glory of the republic.

7. That the Supreme Court of the United States is the judicial authority recognized by the Constitution for deciding in the questions arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that upon the preservation of the authority of that court inviolate depends the existence of the republic.

8. That the Senate of the United States is pre-eminently the conservative branch of the federal government; that upon the independent exercise of its constitutional functions depends the existence of the nicely balanced powers of that government; that all attempts to overawe its deliberations by the influence of the national executive deserve the indignation of every American citizen.

9. That the political course of the present executive is such as to pledge that he will defend and support these great principles of American policy and the Constitution; but, on the other hand, he is so convinced us that he will abandon them whenever his party require it.

10. That the indiscriminate removal of public officers, on the difference of political opinion, is a gross abuse of the executive power.

10. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every citizen of this republic, who regards the honor, the prosperity, and the preservation of our Union, to oppose by every honorable measure the re-election of Andrew Jackson, and to promote the election of Henry Clay of Kentucky, and John Sergeant of Pennsylvania, as President and Vice-President of the United States.

Thus was established the convention system of nominations, and the practice of adopting a platform of principles. The system was at once made use of by the Democrats, not for the nomination of a President, but in order to unite the party on a candidate for Vice-President, that is, on Mr. Van Buren. General Jackson had received the usual large number of State nominations, while similar compliments had likewise been bestowed upon Mr. Clay, Mr. Wirt, Judge M'Lean, and others. No opposition to Jackson was tolerated in the Democratic party, for the friends of Mr. Calhoun had ceased to profess allegiance to him or to the Democratic party, and South Carolina was going her own way all by herself; but acquiescence in the will of the President that Mr. Van Buren should be his associate on the ticket was not so general. In fact there was determined opposition to the arrangement. This was particularly the case in Pennsylvania, where, at a Jackson State Convention, held in March, 1832, Mr. Van Buren's name was not even mentioned, and a long contest between Mr. Dallas, Mr. Buchanan, and Mr. William Wilkins terminated in favor of the last-named gentleman. So strong was the determination not to accept Mr. Van Buren that the electors nominated were pledged to vote for Mr. Wilkins, and, if he should be induced to withdraw, or if, for any other reason he should not be a candidate, to vote for Mr. Dallas.

The call for a National Democratic Convention originated in New Hampshire, and the Convention met in Balti-

— 8 —

Resolved, That each State be entitled, in the nomination of a candidate for the vice-presidency, to a number equal to the number to which they will be entitled in the colleges, under the new apportionment, in voting for President and Vice-President; and that two thirds of the whole number of votes in the convention shall be necessary to constitute a

This was the origin of the famous two-thirds rule which all subsequent Democratic conventions have earned themselves in making nominations. On the ballot for a candidate for Vice-President, Martin Van Buren had 208 votes, Philip P. Barbour of Virginia and Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, 26 votes each. Van Buren, having received more than two thirds of the votes, was declared the nominee. General Jackson was recommended in the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the Convention repose the highest confidence in the purity, patriotism, and talents of Andrew Jackson, and most cordially concur in the repeated nominations which he has received in various parts of the Union as a candidate for re-election to the office which he now fills with so much honor to himself and usefulness to his country.

The Convention accomplished the object for which it was held, although it did not wholly overcome the influence of Democraticism in the Union.

dency in conjunction with General Jackson for President. Later in the same month a similar convention was held in North Carolina, in which delegates from eighteen counties participated ; but the candidacy of Mr. Wilkins was purely local in Pennsylvania, and that of Mr. Barbour came to nothing.

The tone of political discussion during the canvass which preceded and followed these nominations was unexampled for its violence and rancor. The veto by the President of the bill rechartering the Bank of the United States, which had been passed by both Houses of Congress in spite of executive opposition, although there was a Democratic majority in each House, intensified the bitterness of the conflict. It also showed the strength of General Jackson's hold upon the people, that he could still retain, not only the support of the people, who were probably with him in his war on the bank, but that of the politicians as well, — including that of men who had even voted to pass the bank bill over the veto. Mr. Dallas was one of his class. He had introduced the bill for a new charter in the Senate, had supported it at every stage, and voted for it after the veto; and yet, within a month after the failure of the bill, he was found addressing a meeting in Philadelphia which adopted a series of resolutions referring to the bank veto and expressing thanks to the President for his fearless discharge of duty. Nothing was too severe for the opponents of Jackson to say of him, and the violence of their denunciations was equalled by the angry vituperation which the Democrats poured out upon the National Republicans and all other advocates of the bank.

The early elections were not very clearly indicative of the result in November. In the Kentucky election, which took place in August, a "Jackson" governor and a "Clay"

being captured by the Opposition if it could. Pennsylvania gave to Governor Wolf, a candidate, but a few thousand majority,—a third of that two years before. New Jersey gave anti-Jackson majorities. The success in defeating the President led to fresh coalitions where there was not already several elements of the Opposition. The Republicans adopted the Anti-Masonic electoral ticket in New York, and there was a combination of the Whigs and Democrats in Ohio and elsewhere. But the Democrats had serene confidence in the result, and they were not taken. The doubtful States, with the exception of Kentucky, gave majorities—some of them sufficient—to the Jackson and Van Buren ticket. The Jackson party had, however, wisely determined not to put up a ticket in opposition to the Whigs in New York, Pennsylvania, and in South Carolina the legislature had been wholly between the Unionists and the Nullifiers; and the latter carried the legislation was to appoint the electors. On the whole, it was a victory for the Democrats.

As before, twenty-four States took part in the election, but the number of electors was enlarged by the reapportionment which took place.

appointment by the legislature; and she retained that method until and including the election of 1860. Maine, New York, and Tennessee also abandoned at this time the district system of election, leaving only Maryland to adhere to it. With the exception of South Carolina and Maryland, therefore, the method of choosing electors had now become uniform throughout the country, without the interposition of an amendment to the Constitution. The popular vote of the States in 1832 was as follows:—

STATES.	Jackson.	Clay.*
Maine	83,291	27,204
New Hampshire	25,486	19,010
Vermont	7,870	11,152
Massachusetts	14,545	83,008
Rhode Island	2,128	2,810
Connecticut	11,269	17,755
New York	168,497	154,896
New Jersey	23,856	23,898
Pennsylvania	90,983	56,716
Delaware	4,110	4,276
Maryland	19,156	19,160
Virginia	33,609	11,451
North Carolina	24,862	4,563
South Carolina †	—	—
Georgia	20,750	—
Alabama ‡	—	—
Mississippi	5,919	No opposition.
Louisiana	4,049	2,528
Kentucky	36,247	43,896
Tennessee	28,740	1,436
Missouri	5,192	
Ohio	81,246	76,539
Indiana	81,552	15,472
Illinois	14,147	5,429
Totals	687,502	580,189

* The vote for Wirt is included in Clay's vote.

† By Legislature.

‡ No opposition to Jackson.

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Count of electoral votes was conducted in strict accordance with precedent, without dispute or incident. It was as follows:—

		PRESIDENT.				VICE-PRESIDENT.			
Andrew Jackson, Tenn.	10	Henry Clay, Ky.	14	John Floyd, Va.	11	William Wirt, Md.	13	Martin Van Buren, N. Y.	10
John Sergeant, Penn.	14	William Wilkins, Penn.	11	Henry Lee, Mass.	11	Amos Ellmaker, Penn.	13		

XIV.

VAN BUREN.

THE closing acts of General Jackson's first administration were his proclamation and message on the subject of nullification, which did him infinite credit, and his "pocket veto" of the land bill, — which had passed the House of Representatives by 96 to 40 and the Senate by 23 to 5 votes, — by which he assumed the right of an absolute veto for the first time in American political history. His first important act during his second term was the removal of the deposits from the Bank of the United States in direct violation of law. In order to effect this change, he was forced to make two changes in the Secretaryship of the Treasury before he could find an officer willing to aid him in his scheme. The personal influence of the President was constantly felt in Congress, where he was supported by a strong and trustworthy body of adherents composing a majority of the House of Representatives, but, owing to the hostility of State Rights senators, constituting only a minority of the upper branch. Among the people, too, he was regarded as a demi-god. Not only were his acts approved, but his sturdy obstinacy and fearless pugnacity gave him favor with the masses of the people such as no other President before him or since his time has enjoyed.

But the Opposition was earnest and active. The largest section of it was organized in 1834 as the Whig party. According to the "Whig Almanac" for 1838, the party as then constituted comprised: "(1) Most of those who, under the name of National Republicans, had previously

position of armed neutrality towards the
tration by the doctrines of the proclamation
against South Carolina; (3) A majority of the
known as Anti-Masons; (4) Many who had up to
been known as Jackson men, but who united in
ing the high-handed conduct of the Executive, the
lation of Duane, and the subserviency of Taney; (5)
bers who had not before taken any part in politics
who were now awakened from their apathy by
pable usurpations of the Executive, and the imminence
of our whole fabric of constitutional liberty and
prosperity."

It was not to be expected that a party composed
various elements would be able to unite on one cause
with heartiness; and, as the event proved, it was not
that some time should elapse before anything like
geneity could be given to the organization. Nullism
was not popular among the Whigs of the North, nor
the State Rights' people of South Carolina and
States care about the war on the bank and the removal
the deposits. But, leaving the Opposition for a time,
is see what steps were taken to unite the Democrats.
was no secret that the President desired that
Moreau should be his successor. It was rumored
time, and quite generally believed.

1831 and 1832, threatened to make itself felt and to thwart the President's plans. It manifested itself in the President's own State of Tennessee, where, in January, 1835, the legislature formally presented Judge Hugh L. White, then a senator from Tennessee, as a candidate to succeed Jackson. On the day when this action was expected to be taken, there was placed on the desk of every member of the Tennessee legislature a package containing three copies of the Washington "Globe," in which was a series of gross attacks upon Judge White. The peculiarity of this circumstance lay in the fact that these precious documents bore the frank of the President, and some of them were addressed in his own hand.

The convention system had been tried once and had served the purpose; and, as the White movement was making progress elsewhere,—for the legislature of Alabama also nominated him, and all the Tennessee delegation with two exceptions were in favor of him,—the President wrote to a friend in February, 1835, advocating the holding of a national convention for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President. The convention was called and held, in Baltimore, on the 20th of May in that year. Twenty-two States were represented, and upwards of six hundred delegates were in attendance, but the manner of choosing delegates was not what it is in our day. More than half of all those present were delegates from Maryland, and the convention was rather like what is now understood by the term "mass meeting" than like a convention of the present time. In the voting, however, each State was allowed only a number of votes equal to its delegation in Congress. On the first ballot Martin Van Buren received every vote as the candidate for President. Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky was nominated for the vice-presidency, also on the first ballot, by 178 votes to 87 cast for William C. Rives of Virginia. He

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scarcely more than the two thirds which the rule of the convention required to effect a nomination. Previous to voting a motion had been carried, but was afterwards reconsidered and rejected, that a majority was sufficient to make a choice. Even after the choice had been made, the delegates from Virginia refused to abide by the result, and declared that Virginia would support Colonel Johnson. Although the business of the convention was small in amount, and although the sessions were brief, the meeting was a most exciting one, and did not promise much for the harmony of the election that was to take place the next year. A resolution was adopted.

The opposition wisely determined not to attempt a contest of their strength, but to take advantage of all the local hostility to the administration, in throwing the election into the House of Representatives.

General William Henry Harrison was nominated at a meeting at Harrisburg, Penn.; Judge John McLean by the legislature of that State; Daniel Webster by the Whigs in the Massachusetts legislature;

ticket. In Massachusetts, where Mr. Webster was the choice of the Whigs for the presidency, Mr. Granger was supported.

The scheme was a promising one, and it came near success; but the margin of safety was on the side of the Democratic party once more, largely owing to the strictness of party discipline, and the determined use of the national patronage to perpetuate the Jackson dynasty under a new head. The battle between the contesting forces was a bitter one. Mr. Van Buren was the embodiment of all that was objected to on the part of the Whigs against General Jackson; and, on the other hand, the Democrats, honestly believing that the administration in power had acted for the best interests of the country, could find no words too severe to denounce those who would undo its work. They made it a special accusation against the Whigs that they were for the bank; and, while it was true of the most of them, — and, considering what the bank had done for the currency, and the great disasters which followed its overthrow, it was greatly to their credit that they were, — they had not quite courage enough to avow their principles in the face of the manifest, but strange, hostility of the people to "Biddle's bank."

As had happened in 1832, the early autumn elections did not promise a sweeping victory for the Democrats, and they even gave hope to the Opposition that the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives. Ohio and New Jersey, which had given their votes to Jackson four years before, were carried by the Whigs. The Democratic majority in Pennsylvania was uncomfortably small, and in Maine there was no choice of a congressman at the September election in any one of the eight districts. But the Democrats worked with extraordinary energy after these preliminary reverses and saved the day, although they came out of the contest with a largely reduced majority.

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six States took part in the election. Arkansas admitted on the 15th of June, 1836. Michigan, applied for admission as early as 1833, chose and their votes were counted, as we shall see, in manner as were those of Missouri in 1821. The formally admitted on the 26th of January, 1837, was a State at the time the electoral count took the States except South Carolina, whose electors appointed by the legislature, chose them by a vote and by general ticket. Since 1832 no State chose them by the separate vote of districts. The vote was as follows:—

CATES.	Van Buren.	Whig.	Whig Candidate.
.	22,990	15,239	Harrison.
hire	18,722	6,228	Harrison.
.	14,039	20,996	Harrison.
ts	34,474	42,247	Webster.
d	2,964	2,710	Harrison.
.	19,291	18,749	Harrison.
.	166,815	138,543	Harrison.
.	25,592	26,137	Harrison.
.	61,476	57,111	Harrison.

The usual resolution for the appointment of a committee to report upon the manner of conducting the count of votes was introduced in the Senate on the 26th of January, 1837. An amendment offered by Mr. Clay, and adopted by the Senate, directed the committee also "to inquire into the expediency of ascertaining whether any votes were given at the recent election contrary to the prohibition contained in the second section of the second article of the Constitution; and, if such votes were given, what ought to be done with them; and whether any, and what, provision ought to be made for securing the faithful observance, in future, of that section of the Constitution." The House having assented to the resolution as thus amended, the committee reported to the Senate on the 4th of February. After remarking that the shortness of the time allowed had prevented a proper investigation of the matters referred to the committee, the report proceeds:—

The correspondence which has taken place between the chairman of the committee and the heads of the different departments of the executive branch of the government accompanies this report, from which it appears that Isaac Waldron, who was an elector in New Hampshire, was, at the time of his appointment as elector, president of a deposit bank at Portsmouth, and was appointed and acting as pension agent, without compensation, under the authority of the United States; that in two cases persons of the same names with the individuals who were appointed and voted as electors in the State of North Carolina held the offices of deputy-postmasters under the general government. It also appears that in New Hampshire there is one case, in Connecticut there is one case, in North Carolina there is one case, in which, from the report of the Postmaster-General, it is probable that, at the time of the appointment of electors in these States, respectively, the electors, or persons of the same name, were deputy-postmasters. The committee have not ascertained whether the electors are the same individuals who held, or are presumed to have held, the offices of deputy-postmasters at the time when the appointment of electors was

... been given to the same persons.

The committee are of opinion that the second section of the second article of the Constitution, which declares that no Senator, or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector, be carried in its whole spirit into rigid execution in order to prevent officers of the general government from bringing their office to influence the elections of President and Vice-President of the United States. This provision of the Constitution, it is the opinion of the committee, excludes and disqualifies deputy-postmasters from the appointment of electors; and the disqualification relates to the time of appointment, and that a resignation of the office of deputy-postmaster after his appointment as elector would not entitle him to vote as elector under the Constitution.

Should a case occur in which it became necessary to determine upon the qualification of electors of President and Vice-President of the United States, the important question would be presented, What tribunal would, under the Constitution, be competent to decide? Whether the respective legislatures of the States should decide upon the qualifications of their own members, or Congress should exercise the power, is a question which the committee are of opinion ought to be settled by a permanent provision upon the subject.

The committee reported no bill or resolution upon the subject; but it appended to the usual resolution for counting the votes a second resolution, exactly like the first, which had been adopted.

was finally carried by a vote of 84 to 9. In the course of this debate a senator asked Mr. Grundy of Tennessee, who

STATES.	PRESIDENT.					VICE-PRESIDENT.			
	Martin Van Buren, N. Y.	William H. Harrison, O.	Hugh L. White, Tenn.	Daniel Webster, Mass.	Willie P. Mangum, N. C.	Richard M. Johnson, Ky.	Francis Granger, N. Y.	John Tyler, Va.	William Smith, Ala.
Maine	10	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-
New Hampshire	7	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-
Vermont	-	7	-	-	-	-	7	-	-
Massachusetts	-	-	-	14	-	-	14	-	-
Rhode Island	4	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
Connecticut	8	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-
New York	42	-	-	-	-	42	-	-	-
New Jersey	-	8	-	-	-	-	8	-	-
Pennsylvania	30	-	-	-	-	30	-	-	-
Delaware	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
Maryland	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
Virginia	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23
North Carolina	15	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-
South Carolina	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	11	-
Georgia	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	11	-
Alabama	7	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-
Mississippi	4	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
Louisiana	5	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
Arkansas	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Kentucky	-	15	-	-	-	-	15	-	-
Tennessee	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	15	-
Missouri	4	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
Ohio	-	21	-	-	-	-	21	-	-
Indiana	-	9	-	-	-	-	9	-	-
Illinois	5	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
Michigan	3	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Totals	170	73	26	14	11	147	77	47	23

had reported the resolutions, as chairman of the joint committee, what course would have been pursued if the

A missing page.

The result was announced in the al
vided for by the joint resolution, a
declaration that, whether the votes
counted or not counted, Martin Van
President, and that no person had a m
Vice-President; that an election to t
been effected; that Richard M. John
and Francis Granger of New York, we
on the lists of electoral votes, and that i
Senate to choose a Vice-President from

On returning to its own chamber, the
resolution prescribing the manner in w
should be made. The names of the ser
called in alphabetical order, and they w
voca. On the first trial, Richard M. John
was chosen by a vote of 33 to 16 for]
This was the only occasion in our polit
the choice of the Vice-President has de
Senate.

XV.

THE HARRISON CAMPAIGN.

No other political canvass that has ever taken place in the United States bears even a near resemblance to the "log-cabin" and "hard-cider" campaign of 1840. It was marked by intense and extraordinary enthusiasm on the part of young men for a candidate who was close upon seventy years of age. The party which won the victory was a party only in name, for its only bond of union was opposition to the administration of the day. It announced no positive principles, it had no definite policy. Yet it triumphed over the closely-organized party which had governed the country since the beginning of the century, — unless the four years' term of the second Adams is to be excepted, — strongly intrenched in the offices, and using the public patronage without scruple to perpetuate its own power.

Mr. Van Buren's administration was a continuation of General Jackson's. The new President had far more political shrewdness than his predecessor, but far less personal force. His public life was characterized from beginning to end by *finesse*. He contrived to be on neither side of many of the most important questions of the day, — at least until it had become very evident which view was likely to be the more popular. But when he cast in his fortunes with Jackson, after the failure of the caucus in 1824, he supported his chief zealously and loyally, and he had his reward. The people had, however, begun to tire of Jackson before his second term expired, and Van

... — dealt a blow at the administration in t
of its existence. Its weakness was shown by
defeats in two successive Congresses, in eac
there was a Democratic majority, upon the
favorite scheme of establishing that anomalous
the Independent Treasury, — the one great
Mr. Van Buren's administration.

Still, it would be a mistake to suppose either
Van Buren was abandoned by his party, or th
ministration was an unpopular one among I
On the contrary, a very large majority of them b
him, approved his measures, and desired his re
They were in favor of completing the work which
had begun, by divorcing the State altogether fro
banking corporations. Mr. Van Buren was then, a
end of his life, as his "Political History" shows, a
of *banks* as well as of the *The Bank*, the "monster
Jackson crushed. It is extremely probable tha
issue in the canvass of 1840 had been made whc
the bank question, the result would have shown
people were with Van Buren. The Whigs v
shrewd to avow friendliness to *the* bank, or to a
They took advantage of the opposi-

or to modify in any respect the policy of the general government on the subject of State Rights. In short, the Democrats had principles and a policy, right or wrong, as people may think; the Whigs were united only in condemning, and, whatever they may have intended, whatever they may have done or attempted to do when they were in power, they did not venture to declare principles or policy beforehand.

The State elections in 1837 and 1838 resulted unfavorably to the Democrats. In the latter year the most of the elections of members of the twenty-sixth Congress took place; and they were so decidedly adverse to the Democrats that only by extraordinary exertions in the spring elections of 1839 did they succeed in saving any majority at all. So close was the contest that, when the House assembled in December, 1839, there were 119 Democrats, 118 Opposition, and five members from New Jersey whose seats were contested. The certificates were held by Whigs, who were not allowed to participate in the organization. On that occasion Mr. Adams, the ex-President, who had returned to the House of Representatives, prevented anarchy by calling the members to order and persuading them to choose a temporary chairman, — a position which was assigned to Mr. Adams himself.

Long before this, the plans of the Whigs had been forming; and, two days after the assembling of Congress, the National Whig convention met at Harrisburg, — on Dec. 4, 1839. The leaders were resolved on union, and the only question was as to the candidate who would command the largest support. Mr. Clay had the advantage of a very long public service, and of having been a leader in national affairs for almost thirty years; but he also labored under the double disadvantage of being a Freemason, and therefore not acceptable to the faction which

ness in the public service, military and civil half a century, and was well known throughout the country. Moreover, he had made a gallant run for the Presidency in the Northern States in 1836, and neither of the objections urged against Mr. Clay was evident that one of these two would be selected by the Whig opposition. Each had his strong points, but not only they, but the candidates as well, were anxious chiefly that the Whig party should carry Mr. Clay's earnest and laudable ambition to be President was not so great that he would put it before the party. Moreover, he was aware of the objections which the Whigs entertained to him; and, when the elections of 1839 indicated something of a reaction on the part of the Democrats, and the necessity of a compromise with the Opposition, he wrote, in a letter which was read at the Harrisburg convention, that, "if the action of the convention shall lead them to the nomination of another as the candidate of the Opposition, far from exciting any discontent, the nomination will have my wishes and receive my cordial support." He begged his friends to "discard all attachments to me, and be guided solely by the motive of saving our country from the dangers which now threaten to pass it." Already

harmony" convention of Pennsylvania, held at Harrisburg on the 4th of September, probably did much to concentrate the Whig forces on Harrison; for, while that convention extolled Clay in extravagant phrases, it expressed the opinion that only General Harrison could unite the anti-Van Buren party.

Delegates appeared at the Whig convention from twenty-two States. South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Arkansas were not represented. On the second day of the convention, an organization was effected by the choice of Governor J. Barbour of Virginia as president. After a long debate, a plan of nomination was agreed upon. As this scheme was very peculiar, and is now quite obsolete, the order of the convention is given entire : —

That the delegates from each State be requested to assemble as a delegation, and appoint a committee, not exceeding three in number, to receive the views and opinions of such delegation, and communicate the same to the assembled committees of all the delegations, to be by them respectively reported to their principals. And that thereupon the delegates from each State be requested to assemble as a delegation, and ballot for candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, and, having done so, to commit the ballot designating the votes of each candidate, and by whom given, to its committee. And thereupon all the committees shall assemble and compare the several ballots, and report the result of the same to their several delegations, together with such facts as may bear upon the nomination. And said delegations shall forthwith reassemble and ballot again for candidates for the above offices, and again commit the result to the above committees; and if it shall appear that a majority of the ballots are for any one man for candidate for President, said committee shall report the result to the convention for its consideration. If there shall be no such majority, then the delegations shall repeat the balloting until such a majority shall be obtained, and then report the same to the convention for its consideration. That the vote of a majority of each delegation shall be reported as the vote of that State.

the convention until accepted. The scheme was adopted as a method of learning what date would be most acceptable to the States. The action was made the next day, by Mr. Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky, to secure a reversal of the decision; but the convention adhered to its former resolution by a vote of 151 to 149. The action of the committees and delegation was a part of the official record; but it is known that the first informal ballot, in which the wish of each State was expressed, without unifying the votes of the States, Mr. Clay had a small plurality. On the first ballot, Mr. Clay had 103, General Harrison 94, and General Winfield Scott 57. After repeated ballots on Friday evening, the third day of the convention, a report was made by the committees that they had agreed upon a candidate. General Harrison had 148, Mr. Clay 90, and General Scott, 16. On the next day a resolution was introduced declaring General Harrison the choice of the convention, and it was supported in energetic speeches by many of the friends of Clay. While the convention was still going on, the committees which had been considering the question of Vice-President, made a report that John Tyler had received the nomination.

principles of the party which it represented, in any form. Even in the many speeches made during the four days' session, there was hardly a positive assertion of a principle made by any delegate. It was all hatred and opposition to Van Buren and the "Loco-Focos."

The nomination was received with great enthusiasm by the Opposition. Meeting after meeting was held in many States, and the candidacy of the "Old Hero of Tippecanoe" was noisily ratified. The Whigs prepared to shout and sing their candidate into office. In February, 1840, the Whig Convention of Ohio at Columbus was made the occasion of a great "demonstration," a procession with banners, representations of log-cabins, coon-skins, pictures of the "old hero" drinking a mug of hard cider, and other equally logical appeals to the political sound sense of the voters of Ohio. A still more imposing affair was the great procession in Baltimore; on the 4th of May, in connection with the National Convention of young men, which was nicely timed to occur simultaneously with the Democratic Convention in the same city. An excellent illustration of the political eloquence of the time is afforded by the ostentatious failure of the Baltimore "Patriot" to express the emotions which this great procession excited; but the editor certainly tried to do his subject justice.

Monday was a proud day for Baltimore, for Maryland, for the Union. It was a day on which the Young Whigs of all the States were to meet in grand convention. Never before was seen such an assemblage of the people, in whose persons are concentrated the sovereignty of the government. In the language of the president of the day, — "*Every mountain sent its rill, — EVERY VALLEY ITS STREAM, — and, Lo! THE AVALANCHE OF THE PEOPLE IS HERE!*"

It is impossible to convey the slightest idea of the sublime spectacle presented by the procession as it moved through the city. All that pen could write, all that the mouth of man could speak,

responsive cries of the people; the flaunting banners
music; the loud roar, at intervals, of the deep-mouth
all these and more, much more, must be described,
mind's eye, vibrate through the frame, fill the heart
reader can approach to any conception of the reality
all these are done, if they were possible, he has still but
meagre impression of the scene that was presented. In
in no time, never before in the history of man, was a
spectacle so full of "natural glory." The aged veteran, whose
years forbade his joining the procession, looked on; his
voice went to swell the general shout that penetrated even
the vault of heaven; his hand waved above his head, while
his furrowed cheek ran tears, the overflowing of a heart
bursting with joy and happiness and gladness, of all that
make up life's best pleasures, and these crowded, as it
were, in one moment. The father, who brought his children
patriots of the land; the mother to look upon her son, a
patriot crew; the sister to behold the brother give vent
to youthful and extravagant joy, — were all there, and all were
up the spectacle. Standing on an eminence commanding
the line of the procession in the whole extent of Baltimore
you beheld a moving mass of human beings. A thousand
burnished by the sun, floating in the breeze, ten thousand
kerchiefs waved by the fair daughters of the city, gave sense
and motion to the very air. A hundred thousand faces were
before you, — age, manhood, youth, and beauty filled every place
a foothold could be got, or any portion of the procession
and you gazed on the pageant with renewed and increasing
and words failed to express what your heart felt or your
held. Nothing was wanting. nothing left.

country, our institutions, and our people as a "land beyond the oceans of the West," where "freedom and truth are worshipped," by a "people mighty in their youth."

That land is like an eagle, whose young gaze
Feeds on the noontide beam ; whose golden plume
Floats moveless on the storm, and in the blaze
Of sunshine gleams when earth is wrapped in gloom.
An epitaph of glory for the tomb
Of murdered Europe, may thy fame be made,
Great people ! as the sand shalt thou become !
Thy growth is swift as morn, when night must fade ;
The multitudinous earth shall sleep beneath thy shade.

Thus much we may say in reference to what words can describe the procession to be, not what it was; for the reality we must give the dry details of the programme by which it was arranged. We can give nothing of the living spectacle, we can give nothing of the joy and gladness which, —

Spread through the multitudinous streets fast flying
Upon the wings of hope—
 from house to house replying
With loud acclaim; the living shook heaven's cope,
And filled the earth with echoes !

We can give nothing of these, and here all fail; but we must essay to present the scene, as far as feeble words can do it.

The procession does really seem to have been a grand affair, and there were numerous emblems of the Whigs, — log-cabins, barrels of hard cider, brooms to sweep the Augean stables, and others which it would be tedious to enumerate. The poet was with the Whigs that year. Among the mottos on the banners was this: —

**Farewell, dear Van,
You're not our man ;
To guide the ship,
We'll try old Tip.**

But quite enough has been said to show the character of the canvass on the side of the Opposition, and we turn to the course of the Administration and its friends. The

...and the strength of the party. On the other
friends were by no means disposed to submit to
Inasmuch as the party was united in the support
Buren for the first place, there was a cry that
no need of a convention. The people, it was
already spontaneously nominated the President
vice-presidency is safe in the hands of a
Senate, which had already once elected Colonel
A list was made of ten States which already had
or would decline, to send representatives to a national
convention. By some of them Mr. Van Buren had
been nominated for the presidency in conjunction
William R. King of Alabama for the second place
elsewhere Mr. Johnson was nominated for re
James K. Polk of Tennessee and L. W. Tazewell of
also received nominations more or less important
position. But once more New Hampshire issued
a national convention, to be held at Baltimore on
of May. Delegates from twenty-one States responded
States not represented were Connecticut, Delaware,
Virginia, South Carolina, and Illinois. But some of them
were represented by only one or two persons. Massachusetts
sent but one delegate. Governor William C.
Tennessee was chosen president of the convention
pending the preparation of business.

before was referred to as an "animal show;" the Whigs were laughed at for shutting up their candidate and not allowing him the use of pen and ink; and one speaker said that he had tried to get an introduction to some of the log-cabin men in the procession "for the purpose of feeling their soft, delicate hands," but "as soon as he had done so he was pretty careful to put his hand on his purse."

On the second day of the convention the committee on resolutions reported the following platform of principles:—

1. *Resolved*, That the federal government is one of limited powers derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. *Resolved*, That the Constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvement.

3. *Resolved*, That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local internal improvements, or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. *Resolved*, That justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interest of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of person and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practise the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government.

6. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to charter a United States Bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly

several States, and that such States are the sole and proper of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohib the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the ha of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend political institutions.

8. *Resolved*, That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the sa the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

9. *Resolved*, That the liberal principles embodied by Je in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the tution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present lege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the Alien and tion laws from our statute-book.

A committee, which had been appointed on the pr ing day, to consider and report "upon the subject o nominations of President and Vice-President," ma report, through Mr. C. M. Clay of Alabama, in the of two resolutions, to each of which a preamble wa fixed. The first, reciting that Mr. Van Buren had rec numerous nominations, and that he was the mani

several gentlemen had been put in nomination for the vice-presidency; that some of the States presenting these candidates were not represented in the convention; and that all of them, by their discharge of public trusts, had shown themselves worthy to be elected to the office, —

Resolved, That the convention deem it expedient at the present time not to choose between the individuals in nomination, but to leave the decision to their Republican fellow-citizens in the several States, trusting that, before the election shall take place, their opinions shall become so concentrated as to secure the choice of a Vice-President by the electoral colleges.

The first resolution was adopted unanimously, without debate. The second was opposed, and debated at some length; but when it appeared that the differences among the delegates were really irreconcilable, opposition ceased, and the second resolution was also unanimously adopted. An address to the people was then accepted, on the report of a committee, and after more speech-making the convention came to an end.

There was another convention, small in numbers and local in character, which made a third nomination for the office of President. Although the party cast but few votes in 1840, it is mentioned here as the beginning of great things. It was the Abolition party, which held a convention at Warsaw, Genesee County, New York, at the beginning of December, 1839, and nominated James G. Birney of New York for President, and Thomas Earl of Pennsylvania for Vice-President. The question of slavery had been very much discussed in Congress and by the press for many years, but the issue was not yet a really important one in presidential elections. As will be seen from the platform of the Democrats, that party was ready to take its stand against any federal interference with slavery; but the Whigs were not, as long as

Harrison was shut up by his political friends, that appeared on the stump himself, at several places and spoke at length. It is commonly supposed present day, and sometimes said, that no candid great party ever advocated his own election to the presidency in public addresses; but General Harrison in September and October, 1840, at Urbana, Dayton, Toledo, Columbus, and other places. In an address at Carthage, on August 20, he explicitly asserted the right of the people to discuss any subject, and to petition Congress for the redress of any grievance, including slavery; and for this he was roundly denounced as an Abolitionist. The Democrats were unable to understand and still more unable to look with patience upon the shouting campaign of the Harrison men. They attempted to treat the party and its candidate with contempt, but they were really very angry and very much alarmed. State after State upon whose electoral vote they counted gave the Whigs a majority, they became desperate. They could not and would not believe that what was going to happen, and predicted that "the bubble would burst" before November. That was a time when political slang was more current than it was ever before or has been since. The phrases, "Crow, Chapman, and the Whigs," "The ball is rolling on," "Clear the way for Harrison,"

canvass. The Whig song to the tune of "The Little Pig's Tail" has become historical, with its chorus:—

"For Tippecanoe and Tyler too — Tippecanoe and Tyler too;
And with them we'll beat little Van, Van,
Van is a used up man;
And with them we'll beat little Van."

The shouts of the Whigs over their success in Vermont, Kentucky, Maine, Ohio, and other States had hardly ceased ringing when the presidential election began. The choice of all the electors was not then made on one day, as it is now, but in each State at a time fixed by the legislature. It was required, however, to be made within thirty-four days preceding the meeting of the electors. The election began in Pennsylvania and Ohio, on the 30th of October, and ended in North Carolina, on the 12th of November, so far as popular elections were concerned. South Carolina, whose legislature made the choice of the electors for that State, appointed them a fortnight later. But it was evident as soon as the returns of Pennsylvania were in, showing a large gain for the Whigs, even since the State election, four weeks before, that Harrison was to be President. The popular vote was as follows:—

Manuue Island	72,874	51,944	
Connecticut	5,278	8,301	
New York	31,601	25,296	
New Jersey	225,817	212,527	
Pennsylvania	33,351	31,034	
Delaware	144,021	143,672	
Maryland	5,967	4,874	
Virginia	33,523	28,752	
North Carolina	42,501	43,803	
South Carolina	46,378	33,782	
Georgia	-	-	
Alabama	40,261	31,921	
Mississippi	28,471	33,991	
Louisiana	19,518	16,996	
Kentucky	11,296	7,616	
Tennessee	58,489	32,616	
Missouri	60,391	48,289	
Arkansas	22,972	29,790	
Ohio	5,160	6,766	
Indiana	148,157	124,782	
Illinois	65,302	51,604	
Michigan	45,537	47,476	
	22,933	21,181	
Totals	1,275,016	1,129,102	7

* By Legislature.

The electoral count was conducted in the usual manner and there was no incident to mark the proceedings. result was declared as follows .

STATES.	PRESIDENT.		VICE-PRESIDENT.			
	W. H. Harrison, Ohio.	Martin Van Buren, N. Y.	John Tyler, Va.	E. M. Johnson, Ky.	L. W. Tazewell, Va.	James K. Polk, Tenn.
Maine	10	-	10	-	-	-
New Hampshire	-	7	-	7	-	-
Vermont	7	-	7	-	-	-
Massachusetts	14	-	14	-	-	-
Rhode Island	4	-	4	-	-	-
Connecticut	8	-	8	-	-	-
New York	42	-	42	-	-	-
New Jersey	8	-	8	-	-	-
Pennsylvania	30	-	30	-	-	-
Delaware	3	-	3	-	-	-
Maryland	10	-	10	-	-	-
Virginia	-	23	-	23	-	1
North Carolina	16	-	16	-	-	-
South Carolina	-	11	-	-	11	-
Georgia	11	-	11	-	-	-
Alabama	-	7	-	7	-	-
Mississippi	4	-	4	-	-	-
Louisiana	5	-	5	-	-	-
Kentucky	15	-	15	-	-	-
Tennessee	15	-	15	-	-	-
Missouri	-	4	-	4	-	-
Arkansas	-	3	-	3	-	-
Ohio	21	-	21	-	-	-
Indiana	9	-	9	-	-	-
Illinois	-	5	-	5	-	-
Michigan	3	-	3	-	-	-
Totals	234	60	234	48	11	1

THE FIRST "DARK HORSE."

THE canvass for the election of 1844 may be said begun before Harrison was inaugurated as President the 4th of March, 1841. The Democrats, disgusted as well as angry at the success of the Whigs, ascribing all the blame to fraud and in the next to the morbid madness of the people, were resolved to bring Mr. Van Buren again, and to elect him. The spirit of the party at that time is illustrated by an incident. A Louisville paper placed Mr. Van Buren's name at the head of its columns as a candidate in 1844, and "nailed it to the mast," almost as soon as the result of the election of 1840 was known. Thereupon Senator Benton wrote a letter of commendation to the editor, saying that the Democratic party had won a victory twice before its only two national defeats, by adopting at once the candidate in whose person it had suffered a reverse. Benton, it is true, had been an ardent admirer and a zealous follower of Jackson, and had transferred his allegiance in all its fervor to Jackson's political heir; but subsequent events indicated, an overwhelming majority of the party took the same view of political policy during the next three years.

The Whigs were doomed to a sad fate.

should be substituted for the sub-treasury system,—a financial device which had certainly been condemned by the popular voice in the then recent elections. It would be profitless, if this were the place for such a discussion, to consider whether Mr. Tyler gave the Whigs to understand that he would sign *some* bill creating a bank, or not. What is certain is that the Whigs thought he gave them such an assurance; but when a bill which they supposed to have been drawn in accordance with his views was presented to him for approval he vetoed it, and the Whig majority was not strong enough to pass it over the veto. A second bill was prepared, after a conference with the President, submitted to him after it was drafted and approved, and then passed without the alteration of a word. The President, possibly in a fit of very natural anger at a letter written by John M. Botts, a leading Whig member from Virginia, which was published by a breach of confidence, in which Mr. Botts spoke of Mr. Tyler's "turns and twists" with contempt, vetoed that also.

It is needless to say that this act was received with uncontrollable indignation by the Whigs throughout the country. All the members of the cabinet except Mr. Webster, the Secretary of State, who retained office for reasons which were approved by the Whigs, resigned. A caucus of members of the Senate and House of Representatives adopted an address in which they announced that all political alliance between them and John Tyler was at an end, and that henceforth "those who brought the President into power can no longer, in any manner or degree, be justly held responsible or blamed for the administration of the executive branch of the government." It is matter of history that Mr. Tyler continued to the end of his term to be what his early acts as President had in

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at he would be. It may be said that he was whole political life had indicated that he would only inconsistency of which he was guilty was ng, honestly no doubt, that he was "a firm and Whig," when he was opposed to a bank, opposed etive tariff, opposed to the distribution of the of the public lands, opposed to internal improve- d devoted to the principle of "strict construc- he Constitution. The Whigs had not, to be sure, professed different principles from his in reso- opted by a national convention; but they were iminous, or substantially so, in holding all the a which he dissented.

er part an ambition to be re-elected, not by the t by the Democrats, had in determining Mr. urse, he did not gain new political friends when ones. The Democrats were glad enough that of victory were snatched away from the Whigs; h they took advantage of the opportunity which ew in their way, they made no pretence of tak- sident up as their own man. They loved the

Benton men of Missouri, as well as by partisans in his own State of Kentucky. He had no such scruples as restrained Mr. Calhoun, and made a tour through the North, as far as Boston, in the course of which, if he was not belied, he assured the people that nothing could prevent the election of Mr. Clay in 1844 but his own candidacy. His belief in himself is shown by a letter written early in January, 1844, wherein he said that he had worn a certain "red vest" "when called upon to respond to my third unanimous nomination for the presidency by the annual convention of my native State." His friends always spoke of him as "the old hero" and "old Tecumseh." His willingness to be before the people was further exemplified in a letter, written in answer to an inquiry, in which he said plainly that he would accept the second place on the ticket if he did not get the first. The claims of General Lewis Cass were also urged by some of those who did not think the nomination of Mr. Van Buren advisable. Finally, in Pennsylvania, Mr. James Buchanan was brought forward as a "favorite son."

In point of fact, while a most decided preference was shown for Mr. Van Buren before any and all others, those who opposed him were bitter and violent. They declared that he could not be elected, and that it would be suicide for the party to nominate him. When the question of a convention was under discussion, South Carolina refused to send delegates, and a hot debate arose over the two questions, whether delegates should be chosen by districts or by general ticket, and whether Virginia (which was for Van Buren) should be allowed to enter the convention with her delegation numbering five times the votes she would be allowed to cast.

Such was the situation late in 1843. The Democrats seemed to be, and were, in hopeless discord; and the Whigs

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upon an easy victory, for they were absolutely supporting Mr. Clay, while the alleged treachery of Mr. Tyler had given them what was better, political capital. The next succeeding events seemed to work in their favor, for they were as confident of their ability to elect Mr. Van Buren as were that gentleman's enemies in the party that they would beat him. Mr. Buchanan withdrew his name in December, 1843; and in the following month Mr. Calhoun published a letter which was taken as a withdrawal, but which was afterwards found to be only a refusal to allow his name to go before the convention. His friends were thus left free to give him independent support if they would. Meanwhile the State convention instructed its delegates to support Mr. Van Buren, and his nomination seemed to be settled. A clear majority of all the delegates could be counted for him beyond a question, and it was not doubted that he would receive the necessary two thirds. The situation was changed as if by magic. The prospect of the annexation of Texas loomed up suddenly.

reconquer Texas, and had not acknowledged the independence of the republic. To annex it, therefore, was to assume the obligation of a war with Mexico, or to overawe her weakness by our own strength.

The sentiment of the South was very strong in favor of "immediate re-annexation," for obvious reasons, chief among them being the additional strength which would thereby be acquired for the slavery interest. The question suddenly became a political issue of the first magnitude. Mr. Tyler sent the treaty to the Senate on the 22d of April, 1844, but the fact that such a treaty was under consideration was made public some weeks earlier. At the beginning of May, letters were published from Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren, in which these two gentlemen, almost universally regarded as the two prospective rivals for the presidency, answered inquiries as to their views on the Texas question, at length. Singularly enough their views were similar in this: that they both foresaw that annexation meant war with Mexico; that they regarded annexation without the consent of Mexico as dishonorable; and that, consequently, both were opposed to the pending measure. Mr. Clay went further, and expressed grave doubts as to the wisdom of annexation at all, for reasons partly financial (Texas having a debt which must be assumed) and partly political (the strong opposition that existed throughout New England, and the North generally). Mr. Van Buren's letter, perhaps the most courageous act of a public life which was not characterized by great courage, and therefore one of the most creditable, cost him the nomination. It was dated April 20, 1844, and made public a week later; and the convention met at Baltimore on May 27. The time was short, but it was long enough to defeat him. The editor of the Richmond "Enquirer," who had been as firm and steadfast a Van Buren man as

States resigned rather than obey the instructions given them to vote for Van Buren. Others declared although so instructed, they knew that the wishes of their constituents would be modified by the disclosure of Van Buren's opinions, and that they should support another candidate.

The story of the convention is interesting enough, told at length, but its leading incidents are all there narrated here. Every State except South Carolina was represented. The number of delegates in attendance was 825, but they cast only 266 votes. Virginia sent 17 votes; Kentucky, entitled to 12 votes, was represented by 29 delegates; and there were three other cases of over-representation. As soon as the temporary president and secretary had taken their seats, a motion was made that the rules of the convention of 1832 be adopted for the government of this convention. This meant the two-thirds rule, and nothing else. The motion was opposed, as being premature, and laid on the table. But Mr. Saunders of North Carolina, who was the mover of the motion, brought it up after every fresh step in the organization, and at last secured its consideration. It was very warmly debated, the Van Buren men mostly opposed the rule, while all the opponents of that gentleman were in favor of it. At last it

majority, of 58 from Northern and 90 from Southern States. In the afternoon of the same day the "balloting," as it was called, — though the voting was *viva voce*, — was begun. Of the 266 votes Mr. Van Buren had 146, and all others 120, showing a clear majority of 26 for him; but 178 — two thirds of all — were necessary to a choice. Had all the delegates voted as they were instructed, Mr. Van Buren would have lacked less than ten votes of a nomination on the first ballot. As it was, he was defeated by the uncompromising opposition of the Southern minority. He received but 12 of the 105 votes to which the Southern States were entitled, while the North gave him 134 votes out of its total of 151. Seven trials took place, one after the other, resulting as follows: —

	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.	7th.
M. Van Buren, N. Y . .	146	127	121	111	103	101	99
L. Cass, Mich. . . .	83	94	92	105	107	116	123
R. M. Johnson, Ky. . .	24	33	33	32	29	23	21
J. Buchanan, Pa. . . .	4	9	11	17	26	25	22
L. Woodbury, N. H. . .	2	1	2	—	—	—	—
Com. Stewart, Pa. . . .	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
J. C. Calhoun, S. C. . .	6	1	3	—	—	—	—

At this point an Ohio delegate moved a resolution that Martin Van Buren, having received a majority of votes on the first ballot, be declared the candidate. It was ruled that this would require a two-thirds vote, as rescinding an order of the convention. An angry and confused debate took place over the point of parliamentary law, but an appeal from the decision of the chair was withdrawn, and the eighth vote was taken. It resulted: For Van Buren, 104; for Cass, 114; for James K. Polk, 44. These latter were all the votes of Tennessee, Alabama, and New

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re, 7 from Massachusetts, and 7 scattering votes. A ballot was taken amid a scene which has been many times since that day in national conventions was a "stampede." Delegation after delegation gave its vote, and, when the result was announced, J. Polk of Tennessee had every vote, and was elected. A scene of wild confusion ensued. A dispatch was sent by telegraph to Washington, — the first in the country had not long before been opened between the two cities, — and a congratulatory reply was sent from the Democratic members of Congress twenty minutes after the nomination.

In the afternoon session the convention voted for a Vice-President, and Silas Wright, then a member from New York, was nominated, almost unanimously by 256 votes. Eight members of the Georgia delegation alone did not vote for him, but supported Levi Lincoln of New Hampshire. Mr. Wright declined the nomination peremptorily; and, although requested to reconsider and waited upon by a committee of the convention, he persisted in his determination. Accord-

the second vote George M. Dallas had 220 votes; Governor Fairfield, 30; Mr. Woodbury, 6; and Mr. Dallas was nominated. At the beginning of the morning session the following resolutions, the platform of the party, had been reported and adopted. In most of our political text-books the platform appears in a mutilated form, and does not contain the sarcastic allusion to the canvass of 1840:—

Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust, not in factitious symbols, not in displays and appeals insulting to the judgment and subversive of the intellect of the people, but in a clear reliance upon the intelligence, patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

Resolved, Therefore, that, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through the delegates assembled in general convention of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people the declaration of principles avowed by them on a former occasion, when, in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

[Here follow all the resolutions adopted by the convention of 1840, see p. 133.]

Resolved, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to the laws lately adopted, and to any law, for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

Resolved, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under

is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same be ceded to England or any other power; and that the acquisition of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas at a practicable period are great American measures, which the convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democrats of the Union.

After a formal resolution naming Polk and the party candidates, the platform concludes with the following resolution:—

Resolved, That this convention hold in the highest regard and esteem their illustrious fellow-citizen, Martin Van Buren of New York; that we cherish the most grateful and abiding remembrance of the ability, integrity, and firmness with which he discharged the duties of the high office of President of the United States; especially of the inflexible fidelity with which he maintained the true doctrines of the Constitution and the measures of the Democratic party during his trying and nobly arduous administration; that in the memorable struggle of 1840 he fell a martyr to principles of which he was the worthy representative, and to which he was as true as him as such; and that we hereby tender to him, in retirement, the assurance of the deeply seated confidence, and respect of the American Democracy.

In order to present the events of the opening Democratic canvass without a break, chronologically, the following has been somewhat disconnected.

Vice-President. This action was to have a most important effect upon the ensuing canvass, unworthy of notice as the convention seemed. Only one hundred and forty-eight delegates were present, from twelve States. It adopted the following portentously long platform:—

Resolved, That human brotherhood is a cardinal principle of true democracy, as well as of pure Christianity, which spurns all inconsistent limitations; and neither the political party which repudiates it, nor the political system which is not based upon it, can be truly democratic or permanent.

Resolved, That the Liberty Party, placing itself upon this broad principle, will demand the absolute and unqualified divorce of the general government from slavery, and also the restoration of equality of rights among men, in every State where the party exists or may exist.

Resolved, That the Liberty Party has not been organized for any temporary purpose by interested politicians, but has arisen from among the people in consequence of a conviction, hourly gaining ground, that no other party in the country represents the true principles of American liberty, or the true spirit of the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That the Liberty Party has not been organized merely for the overthrow of slavery. Its first decided effort must indeed be directed against slavholding as the grossest and most revolting manifestation of despotism, but it will also carry out the principle of equal rights into all its practical consequences and applications, and support every just measure conducive to individual and social freedom.

Resolved, That the Liberty Party is not a sectional party, but a national party; was not originated in a desire to accomplish a single object, but in a comprehensive regard to the great interests of the whole country; is not a new party nor a third party, but is the party of 1776, reviving the principles of that memorable era, and striving to carry them into practical application.

Resolved, That it was understood in the times of the Declaration and the Constitution that the existence of slavery in some of the States was in derogation of the principles of American liberty, and a deep stain upon the character of the country and the implied faith of the States; and the nation was pledged that slavery should

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ended beyond its then existing limits, but should be
and yet at no distant day, wholly abolished by State

That the faith of the States and the nation thus
most nobly redeemed by the voluntary abolition of
several of the States, and by the adoption of the ordi-
7 for the government of the Territory northwest of the
then the only Territory in the United States, and con-
e only Territory subject in this respect to the control of
which ordinance slavery was forever excluded from
ions which now compose the States of Ohio, Indiana,
higan, and the Territory of Wisconsin, and an inca-
ar up any other than free men was impressed on the

That the faith of the States and nation thus pledged
amefully violated by the omission on the part of many
es to take any measures whatever for the abolition of
n their respective limits; by the continuance of slavery
ict of Columbia, and in the Territories of Louisiana
; by the legislation of Congress; by the protection
national legislation and negotiation to slaveholding in
essels, on the high seas, employed in the coastwise
and by the extension of slavery far beyond its original
ers of Congress admitting new slave States into the

Florida, or on the high seas, are unconstitutional, and all attempts to hold men as property within the limits of exclusive national jurisdiction ought to be prohibited by law.

Resolved, That the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, which confers extraordinary political powers on the owners of slaves, and thereby constituting the two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders in the slave States a privileged aristocracy; and the provision for the reclamation of fugitive slaves from service, are anti-republican in their character, dangerous to the liberties of the people, and ought to be abrogated.

Resolved, That the practical operation of the second of these provisions is seen in the enactment of the Act of Congress respecting persons escaping from their masters, which act, if the construction given to it by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* be correct, nullifies the *habeas corpus* acts of all the States, takes away the whole legal security of personal freedom, and ought therefore to be immediately repealed.

Resolved, That the peculiar patronage and support hitherto extended to slavery and slaveholding by the general government ought to be immediately withdrawn, and the example and influence of national authority ought to be arrayed on the side of liberty and free labor.

Resolved, That the practice of the general government, which prevails in the slave States, of employing slaves upon the public works, instead of free laborers, and paying aristocratic masters, with a view to secure or reward political services, is utterly indefensible and ought to be abandoned.

Resolved, That the freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of petition and the right of trial by jury, are sacred and inviolable; and that all rules, regulations, and laws in derogation of either are oppressive, unconstitutional, and not to be endured by free people.

Resolved, That we regard voting, in an eminent degree, as a moral and religious duty, which, when exercised, should be by voting for those who will do all in their power for immediate emancipation.

Resolved, That this convention recommend to the friends of liberty in all those free States where any inequality of rights and privileges exists on account of color, to employ their utmost energies to remove all such remnants and effects of the slave system.

Whereas, The Constitution of these United States is a series of agreements, covenants, or contracts between the people of the United States, each with all and all with each; and

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It is a principle of universal morality, that the moral Creator are paramount to all human laws; or, in the words of an Apostle, that "we ought to obey God rather than

The principle of common law, that any contract, or agreement to do an act derogatory to natural rights is annulled by its inherent immorality, has been recognized by the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. In a recent case expressly holds that any "contract that has such a basis is void;" and

The third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, when construed as to the surrender of a fugitive slave, does "rest upon such a basis that it is a contract to rob a man of a natural right, his natural right to his own liberty, and is, therefore, void; therefore,

That we hereby give it to be distinctly understood by the people of the United States and the world, that, as abolitionists, considering that the success of our cause lies in its righteousness, and our hope for the triumph of our cause is in conformity to the laws of God and our respect for the rights of man, we owe it to the Sovereign Ruler of the universe, as our allegiance to him, in all our civil relations and offices, as private citizens or as public functionaries sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, to regard and to treat

The Whigs, as has been said already, were enthusiastic and completely united in the support of Mr. Clay. No other candidate was mentioned or thought of in connection with the nomination. The convention was held in Baltimore on the 1st of May, 1844. Every State in the Union was fully represented. The whole business which occasioned the meeting was completed in a single sitting. Mr. Clay was nominated by acclamation, unanimously. Three ballots were taken for a candidate for Vice-President. On the first, Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey had 101: John Davis of Massachusetts, 83; Millard Fillmore of New York, 53, and John Sergeant of Pennsylvania, 38. Mr. Frelinghuysen gained on every ballot, and on the fourth received 155, against 116 for Fillmore and Davis combined. After numerous speeches had been made, in which the candidates were most highly commended, and the triumph of the party was confidently predicted, Mr. Reverdy Johnson of Maryland moved the following series of resolutions, which were adopted:—

Resolved, That, in presenting to the country the names of Henry Clay for President, and of Theodore Frelinghuysen for Vice-President of the United States, this convention is actuated by the conviction that all the great principles of the Whig party—principles inseparable from the public honor and prosperity—will be maintained and advanced by these candidates.

Resolved, That these principles may be summed as comprising: A well-regulated currency; a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country; the distribution of the proceeds from the sales of the public lands; a single term for the presidency; a reform of executive usurpations; and generally such an administration of the affairs of the country as shall impart to every branch of the public service the greatest practical efficiency, controlled by a well-regulated and wise economy.

Resolved, That the name of Henry Clay needs no eulogy. The history of the country since his first appearance in public life is his

by his revolutionary ancestry and his o to every measure calculated to sustain the honor and country. Inheriting the principles as well as the name who, with Washington, on the fields of Trenton and perilled life in the contest for liberty, and afterwards of the United States, acted with Washington in perpetuating that liberty, Theodore Frelinghuysen, attorney-general of the State of New Jersey for two subsequently as a senator of the United States for was always strenuous on the side of law, order, and tion, while, as a private man, his head, his hand, and been given without stint to the cause of morals, education, and religion.

The second only of these resolutions is printed in political text-books, and always with a faulty punctuation — the omission of a colon after the first phrase makes nonsense of the whole resolution. The punctuation of the series is essential even to an understanding of the second, which stated the principles of the V

Although Mr. Tyler had not been mentioned as a candidate in the Democratic convention, he had been mentioned by the chiefly officeholders, it was said, by both V Democrats, — who held a convention, also in New York, on the same day that the Democrats met there for a mass convention, rather than one of elected delegates. Mr. Tyler was unanimously nominated for the presidency and accepted the nomination; but the movement was not successful.

the difference that there were shouting and enthusiasm on both sides. Mr. Clay was undoubtedly the most popular man in the United States at the time, but personal popularity did not decide the issue. The Democrats were very much in earnest, both about the election and about Texas. Mr. Polk was a comparatively unknown man, although he had served as Speaker of the House of Representatives. He therefore excited no antagonisms. He was particularly acceptable to the South, and the Northern Democrats had nothing against him. It was believed and asserted that the movement in his favor in the convention had not been as spontaneous as its managers wished people to suppose, but that the matter had been carefully canvassed beforehand, and that the plan, as carried out, was laid some time before at Nashville. While, therefore, the Whigs carried on an enthusiastic canvass, there were not wanting signs that a majority of the people were still Democratic, and that the reverse of 1840 was really but a brief and half-thoughtless revulsion against certain abuses which had crept in, which the people did not like at the time, but to which they have since reconciled themselves most bravely. The early elections gave indications here and there of a slight Whig gain from the result in 1842, when the Democrats had been again successful in carrying a majority of Congress; but these were partially offset by Democratic gains, and were nowhere great enough to give the Whigs good ground for hope of success in November. Yet they continued to hope and to fight to the last.

The number of States voting was twenty-six, as before; but owing to the new apportionment, by which the number of representatives was cut down from 242 to 223, the number of electors was reduced to 275. The popular vote and the electoral vote are included in the same table,

STATES.	James K. Pol Tenn.	Henry Clay, Ky	James G. Birney N. Y.
Maine	45,719	34,378	4,82
New Hampshire .	27,160	17,866	4,16
Vermont	18,041	26,770	3,96
Massachusetts . .	52,846	67,418	10,86
Rhode Island . .	4,867	7,322	10
Connecticut . . .	29,841	32,832	1,94
New York	237,588	232,482	15,81
New Jersey . . .	37,495	38,318	131
Pennsylvania . .	167,535	161,203	8,18
Delaware	5,996	6,278	-
Maryland	32,676	35,984	-
Virginia	49,570	43,677	-
North Carolina .	39,287	43,232	-
South Carolina *	-	-	-
Georgia	44,177	42,100	-
Alabama	37,740	26,084	-
Mississippi . . .	25,126	19,206	-
Louisiana	18,782	13,083	-
Kentucky	51,988	61,255	-
Tennessee	59,917	60,030	-
Missouri	41,369	31,251	-
Arkansas	9,546	5,504	-
Ohio	149,117	155,057	8,050
Michigan	27,759	24,837	3,632
Indiana	70,181	67,867	2,106
Illinois	57,920	45,528	3,570

There were some very peculiar facts in connection with this election. The first was the magnitude of the electoral as compared with the popular majority. Polk had but 38,181 over Clay, and yet he received a majority of 65 in the votes of electors. Had the Abolitionists voted for Clay he would have had a popular majority of 24,119; he would have received the electoral votes of New York, 36, and Michigan, 5; and he would have been elected by 146 electoral votes against 129 for Mr. Polk. No doubt the Abolitionists acted with entire consistency in refusing to vote for Henry Clay, and no doubt it is as impossible to tell what might have happened if Clay had been elected, as it would be to guess what would have been the course of history if Van Buren had not written his Texas letter; but at all events the election of Clay would have postponed the annexation of Texas, and possibly it would have averted the Mexican war.

Another noteworthy incident of the election was what was known as the Plaquemines fraud. It will be noticed in the above table that the Polk majority in Louisiana is 699. The parish of Plaquemines, below New Orleans on the Mississippi, had voted in previous years, and was returned as voting in 1844, as follows:—

	Democrat.	Whig.
Election of 1840	250	40
Election of 1842	179	93
Election of 1843	310	38
Election of 1844	1,007	87

The Democratic gain over the best previous year was 697, almost exactly the whole Democratic majority in the State. The vote was suspicious in this: that the Demo-

...gers under the charge
magnate of Plaquemines, and that these passen
at three different places and cast each time
vote for Polk and Dallas. The steamboat "Pi
down one hundred and forty others, who also
and often for the same ticket. These assertio
only made, but sworn to, by many witnesses, inc
persons, one of them a minor, who voted se
each under the direction of the learned judg
aged the affair. The story bears all the mar
If it is not true, it is at least singular that
years after 1844 before Plaquemines parish co
half as many Democratic votes as she gave to
Polk.

Though the Whig newspapers rang with the
fraud, and though the accusation was supported
testimony, nothing was done about it. The elec
lost, and a rectification of the fraud would
changed the result. The Whigs quietly subm
when the electoral count took place in 1845, in
manner, no objection whatever was made, and
Dallas were declared elected in due form.

XVII.

THE SECOND WHIG VICTORY.

THE administration of Mr. Polk was Democratic enough to please the most exacting of his partisans. Its leading events were the annexation of Texas in accordance with the joint resolution approved by Mr. Tyler three days before the close of his term; the Mexican war, which that act naturally and, indeed, inevitably, provoked; the settlement of the Oregon question, — not on the line of $54^{\circ} 40'$, which the Democrats had claimed as the true boundary, but on that of 49° ; the re-establishment of the sub-treasury; and the tariff of 1846. On every one of these questions the Whigs were at issue with the dominant party. They knew that the annexation of Texas would lead to war, unless Mexico should feel too weak to resist the United States, and they opposed it on that account. They denounced Mr. Polk's instructions to General Taylor as calculated to goad Mexico to war, as indeed they did. They jeered at the President for having first transformed the claim of "the whole of Oregon" from a national into a party question, and then for having mildly accepted the proffered terms of Great Britain, which gave the United States only a part of what had been claimed. The sub-treasury and the tariff questions were old ones, and the Whigs were united in their opposition to the Democratic measures.

But meanwhile the question of slavery in the Territories was assuming large importance. The Abolitionists proper formed but a small body, but those who were hos-

up to this time the Whigs had never mentioned the subject of slavery in their resolutions; and the opposition, bravely as they might talk at home, were not venture to propose that it be made a party question. The Democrats had confined their declarations on the subject of slavery to an assertion of the right of States to maintain their domestic institutions.

It was partly due to accident that the question of slavery played so large a part as it did in the election of 1844. There had never been a time when there were no factions of the New York Democrats. Silas Wright, at that time a senator from New York, was nominated Vice-President on the ticket with Mr. Polk. As an opponent of Mr. Van Buren, and as an opponent of annexation, he declined. But the reunion which took place after the convention brought him forward as a candidate for governor of New York the same year. He received a much larger majority than was given to Mr. Polk. The two parties fell apart again after the election; and when, in 1845, Wright was again a candidate for governor, he was defeated. His friends and followers believed that he was "slaughtered," and they ascribed his defeat to the secret opposition of the "Hunkers,"—so called because their opponents said they *hunkered* for office,—to the machinations of the Administration.

President. Mr. Wright died suddenly in August, 1847; but his death, instead of ending the quarrel between the factions, served to aggravate it. Not all of Mr. Wright's followers were with him at the outset on the slavery question, but the most of them were; and the two factions finally divided on this issue. The anti-slavery wing were known as "Barn-burners," in allusion to the story of the Dutchman who burned his barn to clear it of the rats and mice.

The "Wilmot proviso," so called from its author, David Wilmot, a Democratic member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, by which slavery was not to exist in any territory thereafter acquired by the United States, became the issue in numerous contests, and a question upon which the Democratic party was for the time hopelessly divided; and it was due to this division that the Democrats entered the canvass of 1848, which they were destined to lose, with so little spirit. Success was impossible without New York, and the split in that State was one which could not be healed.

Meanwhile all was not union and harmony in the Whig ranks. Henry Clay was still the most popular man in the party; but there was gradually springing up a feeling that, after his repeated defeats, and in the face of the uncompromising objections to him in anti-slavery quarters in the North, he could not be elected. At the same time there were those who thought that he should not have a permanent mortgage on the Whig party. Mr. Webster had strong friends and supporters to urge his pretensions. Judge M'Lean, General Scott, Mr. Clayton of Delaware, and Thomas Corwin of Ohio, were also put forward. But the movement in favor of General Taylor gradually overwhelmed all the other candidates. To make him a candidate would be to snatch the fruits

...before his nomination, than he had never voted, he should have supported 1844 if he had voted at all. The gallant many letters in 1847 and 1848 which proved politician, and even those who were most moting his candidacy smiled inwardly at his nocence. His nomination and election, as ev see, would mean little or nothing. But th Mr. Clay would mean almost as little, for l tified with the contests over questions whic decided. Texas had been annexed; the sub- re-established; the tariff of 1846, though velop its defects, was working well; the Oreg was settled; and on the new issue then becom ent, Mr. Clay could not be acceptable to the ' Whigs.' All these considerations, each in its and others which have not been mentioned, favor of the Taylor movement; and his nomi certain before the Whig convention met.

The first convention preliminary to the canva was that of the Native Americans, — a party v already been in existence locally, and which for s past had elected a few representatives in Cong. New York and Pennsylvania. The national co met in Philadelphia in September 1847

General H...

dent John P. Hale of New Hampshire, and for Vice-President Leicester King of Ohio. After the Barn-burners' convention, hereafter to be noticed, Mr. Hale withdrew from the canvass. It was given out at the time that Mr. Van Buren was a good enough Abolitionist for this party, though he "could not be regarded as a perfect embodiment of their principles." The "Liberty League," another Abolition body, held a convention at Rochester, N. Y., on the 2d of June, 1848, and nominated Gerritt Smith of New York for President and the Rev. Charles E. Foote of Michigan for Vice-President. An "Industrial Congress" met at Philadelphia, June 13, 1848, and nominated Gerritt Smith for the first place and William S. Waitt of Illinois for the second place on the ticket. So far as is known, no votes were cast for either of these minor candidates, in any State.

The Democrats assembled in convention at Baltimore, on May 22, 1848. All the States were represented, most of them fully, some of them by two or three times as many delegates as they were entitled to votes. Virginia alone sent seventy delegates to cast seventeen votes. New York presented two full sets of delegates,—one of thirty-six "Hunkers," the other of as many "Barn-burners." It would require too much space to narrate the progress of the faction fight, although all the proceedings of the convention turned on the question of the New York delegation, and although that quarrel alone was enough to determine the result of the ensuing election. But any other course than that which was taken must have led to the same result, for each delegation claimed full recognition as the representatives of the New York Democrats, and would be satisfied with nothing less.

The wrangling began as soon as the opening prayer had been offered — over the constitution of the committee on

or may the convention devoted itself wholly to
 On a resolution to admit the "Hunker" del
 amendment was offered to admit both delegati
 combined to have only the vote to which New
 entitled. This was carried by two majority,—
 Of the affirmative votes, 99 came from North
 and the other 27 from Maryland, Delaware,
 Tennessee, Missouri, and Texas. The North
 88 negative votes. Although this was, so far
 victory for either side, a triumph for the "Bar
 they refused to take part in the proceedings, &
 the "Hunkers." The former delegation afterwa
 same sitting, withdrew from the convention.

As soon as the New York question was decid
 ing for a candidate for President began. Four t
 necessary, the result of which was as follows:—

	1st.	2d.	3d.
Whole number	251	252	254
Necessary to a choice	168	168	169
Lewis Cass, Mich.	125	133	156
James Buchanan, Penn. . . .	55	54	40
Levi Woodbury, N. H. . . .	52	52	—
George M. Davis	—	—	—

The vote for Mr. Cass at the beginning was almost exclusively from Western and Southern States, but there was little significance in this fact. All the candidates were against the Wilmot Proviso, — they were all classed as “Northern men with Southern principles,” — and the preferences of delegates were personal rather than political. The nomination was made unanimous with enthusiasm. In the evening the convention proceeded to vote for a candidate for Vice-President. On the first trial General William O. Butler of Kentucky had 114; General John A. Quitman of Mississippi had 74; John Y. Mason of Virginia, 24; William R. King of Alabama, 25; James J. McKay of North Carolina, 13; Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, 1. As 169 were necessary to a choice, the convention proceeded to vote a second time. General W. O. Butler was nominated, receiving 169 votes, to 62 for Quitman and 22 for all others. This nomination was also made unanimous. On the fifth and last day of the convention, the platform was reported. It was for the most part a repetition of that of 1844. The first resolution was modified to read as follows:—

Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

Then followed the resolutions adopted in 1840 and 1844, as arranged in the platform of the latter year, except that to the fifth resolution (see p. 133) are appended the words: “And for the gradual, but certain, extinction of the debt created by the prosecution of a just and necessary war, after peaceful relations shall have been restored.” The convention also added to this already ample platform the following new resolutions:—

Resolved, That the war with Mexico, provoked on her part by years of insult and injury, was commenced by her army crossing

the liberal treaty offered to Mexico remains in doubt, if of the country to sustain the Administration in every necessary to provide for the vigorous prosecution of the that treaty be rejected.

Resolved, That the officers and soldiers who have arms of their country into Mexico have crowned it withishable glory. Their unconquerable courage, their dash, their unfaltering perseverance and fortitude when all sides by innumerable foes, — and that more formidable diseases of the climate, — exalt their devoted patriots to the highest heroism, and give them a right to the profusion of their country and the admiration of the world.

Resolved, That the Democratic National Convention of the States, composing the American Republic, tender their congratulations to the National Convention of the Republic of France, now assembled as the free suffrage representatives of thirty-five millions of republicans, to establish governments on those eternal principles of equal rights, for which Lafayette and our Washington fought side by side in the struggle for our national independence; and we would especially commend them and to the whole people of France our earnest wishes for the consolidation of their liberties, through the wisdom that shall guide their counsels, on the basis of a democratic constitution derived from the grants or concessions of kings or dynasties, originating from the only true source of political power recognized in the States of this Union: the inherent and inalienable rights of the people, in their sovereign capacity, to make and to amend laws.

ing republics on the ruins of despotism in the Old World, — we feel that a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility, upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the people, to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, equality, and fraternity, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many; and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution, which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded, through the American Minister at Paris, to the National Convention of the Republic of France.

Resolved, That the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844, which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas President and Vice-President of the United States, have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union in defeating the declared purposes of their opponents to create a national bank; in preventing the corrupt and unconstitutional distribution of the land proceeds, from the common treasury of the Union, for local purposes; in protecting the currency and labor of the country from ruinous fluctuations, and guarding the money of the people for the use of the people; by the establishment of the constitutional treasury; in the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade, by the repeal of the tariff of 1842, and the creation of the more equal, honest, and productive tariff of 1846; and that, in our opinion, it would be a fatal error to weaken the hands of a political organization by which these great reforms have been achieved, and risk them in the hands of their known adversaries, with whatever delusive appeals they may solicit our surrender of that vigilance which is the only safeguard of liberty.

Resolved, That the confidence of the Democracy of the Union in the principles, capacity, firmness, and integrity of James K. Polk, manifested by his nomination and election in 1844, has been signally justified by the strictness of his adherence to sound Democratic doctrines, by the purity of purpose, the energy and ability which have characterized his administration in all our affairs at home and abroad; that we tender to him our cordial congratulations upon the brilliant success which has hitherto crowned his

... for the office of President, and Willi
of Kentucky as the candidate of the Democratic pa
President of the United States.

Mr. Yancey of Alabama offered the following
in addition to the platform : —

Resolved, That the doctrine of non-interference with
of property of any portion of the people of this coun
it in the States or Territories thereof, by any other thi
ties interested in them, is the true republican doctrine,
by this body.

The resolution was rejected by a vote of yeas,
216. All the affirmative votes were given by
from the Slave States.

The Whig convention met at Philadelphia on
of June, every State except Texas being rep
Ex-Governor John M. Morehead of North Caro
the permanent president. Nothing beyond the
tion was accomplished on the first day. A long
interesting contest took place on the following
questions raised by the over-representation of son
and the under-representation of others; and it
until evening that the convention reached a ve
candidate for President. After two votes the co
adjourned until the next day, when two more vo
taken and on the 6th of June

	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.
Zachary Taylor, La.	111	118	183	171
Henry Clay, Ky.	97	86	74	82
Winfield Scott, N. J.	43	49	54	63
Daniel Webster, Mass.	22	22	17	14
John M'Lean, Ohio.	2	—	—	—
John M. Clayton, Del.	4	4	1	—

The vote for General Taylor on the first ballot came from all parts of the country. There were only eight of the thirty States then in the Union from which he got no votes. He received but six votes, however, from New England, which supported Mr. Webster and Mr. Clay. On the final vote every State gave him at least one vote. The convention, after giving itself up for a time to enthusiasm, proceeded to vote for a candidate for Vice-President. A large number of nominations was made. On the first ballot, Millard Fillmore of New York had 115; Abbott Lawrence of Massachusetts, 109; and 51 votes were divided among ten other candidates. On the second vote Fillmore had 173; Lawrence, 87; and all others, 6. Mr. Fillmore's nomination was then declared, and, after a season of speech-making, the convention adjourned. No committee on resolutions was appointed, and the convention made no declaration of principles whatever. This attitude of non-committalism was by no means approved by a large section of the party; and it was late in the canvass, when some additional letters from General Taylor, giving assurance that he really sympathized — mildly, at least — with the purposes of the party, had been published, before some of the prominent Whig leaders came cordially to his support.

Meanwhile the "Barn-burners," who had withdrawn from the Baltimore convention, were not acquiescing in

... for President.

Dodge of Wisconsin for Vice-President. Mr. Adams accepted the nomination, though with evident reluctance. Senator Dodge declined, and supported G. L. Johnson. Later in the year an Ohio State convention of delegates was called, which was held August 9. Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts made permanent president of the convention, and retained representatives of seventeen States, and the whole have had a membership of about 300. On a ballot for President, Martin Van Buren had 129 votes, and John P. Hale of New Hampshire 129. Charles Adams of Massachusetts was nominated by a majority of 129 for Vice-President. The convention adopted the following resolutions: —

Whereas, We have assembled in convention, as a union of men, for the sake of freedom, forgetting all past political differences, in common resolve to maintain the rights of free men, and to resist the aggressions of the slave power, and to secure free men and people; and

Whereas, The political conventions recently assembled at New York and Philadelphia, the one stifling the voice of the constituency, entitled to be heard in its deliberations, and the other abandoning its distinctive principles for mere avowed expediency, and dissolving the national party organizations heretofore existing; and

banner of free democracy, in a solemn and formal declaration of their independence of the slave power, and of their fixed determination to rescue the federal government from its control: —

Resolved, Therefore, that we, the people here assembled, remembering the example of our fathers in the days of the first Declaration of Independence, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking his guidance in our endeavors to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the national platform of freedom, in opposition to the sectional platform of slavery.

Resolved, That slavery in the several States of this Union which recognize its existence depends upon State laws alone, which cannot be repealed or modified by the federal government, and for which laws that government is not responsible. We therefore propose no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of any State.

Resolved, That the proviso of Jefferson, to prohibit the existence of slavery after 1800 in all the Territories of the United States, southern and northern; the votes of six States and sixteen delegates, in the Congress of 1784 for the proviso, to three States and seven delegates against it; the actual exclusion of slavery from the Northwestern Territory by the ordinance of 1787, unanimously adopted by the States in Congress; and the entire history of that period, — clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation not to extend, nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize, and discourage slavery; and to this policy, which should never have been departed from, the government ought to return.

Resolved, That our fathers ordained the Constitution of the United States in order, among other great national objects, to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty; but expressly denied to the federal government, which they created, all constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due legal process.

Resolved, That, in the judgment of this convention, Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to institute or establish slavery than to institute or establish a monarchy. No such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the Constitution, or derived by any just implication from them.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the federal government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery wherever the government possesses constitutional authority to legislate on that subject, and is thus responsible for its existence.

...for us, and to their demand for more slave S
slave territory, our calm but final answer is, no mor
and no more slave territory. Let the soil of our exte
be ever kept free for the hardy pioneers of our own
oppressed and banished of other lands, seeking hon
and fields of enterprise in the New World.

Resolved, That the bill lately reported by the comr
in the Senate of the United States was no compromi
solute surrender of the rights of the non-slavehold
States; and while we rejoice to know that a measure
opening the door for the introduction of slavery into t
free, would also have opened the door to litigation and
the future inhabitants thereof, to the ruin of their pe
perity, was defeated in the House of Representatives
in hot haste, by a majority embracing several senate
in open violation of the known will of their constit
warn the people to see to it that their representative
fered to betray them. There must be no more comp
slavery; if made, they must be repealed.

Resolved, That we demand freedom and established
for our brethren in Oregon, now exposed to hardship
massacre by the reckless hostility of the slave power t
lishment of free government for free territory, and r
them, but for our new brethren in New Mexico and Ca

And whereas, It is due not only to this occasion, but
people of the United States, that we should declare
certain other questions of national policy: therefore,

Resolved, That we demand cheap postage for the
trenchment of the expenses and patronage of the fed
ment; the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salar
elections.

Resolved, That the free grant to actual settlers, in consideration of the expenses they incur in making settlements in the wilderness, which are usually fully equal to their actual cost, and of the public benefits resulting therefrom, of reasonable portions of the public lands, under suitable limitations, is a wise and just measure of public policy which will promote, in various ways, the interests of all the States of this Union; and we therefore recommend it to the favorable consideration of the American people.

Resolved, That the obligations of honor and patriotism require the earliest practicable payment of the national debt; and we are, therefore, in favor of such a tariff of duties as will raise revenue adequate to defray the necessary expenses of the federal government, and to pay annual instalments of our debt, and the interest thereon.

Resolved, That we inscribe on our banner, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," and under it will fight on, and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

The canvass was short. On the part of the Whigs it was spirited and confident, while on the Democratic side it was conducted with little hope of success. The early elections showed that the Whigs must carry the country. The number of States which took part in this election was thirty. Florida had been admitted as a State on March 3, 1845; Texas on Dec. 29, 1845; Iowa on Dec. 28, 1846; and Wisconsin on May 29, 1848. For the first time all the electors, except those from Massachusetts, were appointed on one day. This was in accordance with an act passed in 1845, which, by the way, was a party measure, and debated in an intensely partisan spirit, as follows:—

Be it enacted, etc., That the electors of President and Vice-President shall be appointed in each State on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in the month of November of the year in which they are to be appointed:—

Provided, That each State may by law provide for the filling of any vacancy or vacancies which may occur in its College of Electors when such college meets to give its electoral vote:—

And provided also, When any State shall have held an election for the purpose of choosing electors, and shall fail to make a choice

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foresaid, then the electors may be appointed on a sub-
in such manner as the State shall by law provide.

ular and the electoral votes in 1848 were as

S.	POPULAR VOTE.			ELECTORS.	
	Zachary Taylor, La.	Lewis Cass, Mich.	Martin Van Buren, N. Y.	Taylor.	Cass.
shire . .	85,125	39,860	12,096	-	0
shire . .	14,781	27,763	7,560	-	0
shire . .	23,122	10,948	18,887	6	0
shire . .	61,070	35,281	38,058	11	0
shire . .	6,779	3,646	730	4	0
shire . .	30,814	27,046	5,005	6	0
shire . .	218,603	114,318	120,510	11	0
shire . .	40,015	86,901	829	7	0
a . .	185,513	171,176	11,263	26	0
shire . .	6,421	5,898	80	8	0
shire . .	37,702	34,528	125	8	0

In all the States except New Hampshire and Massachusetts, a plurality was sufficient to effect a choice. New Hampshire gave a majority to Cass over both the others. In Massachusetts there was no choice, and the legislature met and chose the Taylor electors. The aggregate vote at this election was 2,871,906, against 2,698,605, an increase of 178,801. But of these additional votes 88,609 were cast in the four new States, so that the increase in the old States was but 89,692, or barely three per cent in four years. This fact proves, not that slight interest was taken in the election, but that the result was foreseen, and that in many States less effort than usual to poll a full vote was put forth. The count of electoral votes proceeded in the usual manner, and was devoid of incident.

XVIII.

THE DEMOCRATS REUNITED.

connected with slavery had been gradually but acquiring an overshadowing importance in national politics until they split the Democratic party in the North and the South. In the election of 1848 more than one of the Democrats of the North had voted for an independent candidate rather than support the party nominee who had committed himself against the Wilmot proslavery Whig party was also divided into two factions, one for safety only in silence. The power of slavery was not, however, rather in the weakness, the timidity, and the inconsistency of its opponents, than in its own inherent strength. It was not until we discover this fact later, but for the time being it was firmly entrenched. It governed the Democratic

gent fugitive slave law was to be enacted; Texas was to receive ten million dollars for yielding her claim to New Mexico; Utah and New Mexico were to be organized as new Territories. To the passage of these measures Whigs and Democrats alike bent their energies, opposed on the one hand by the extremists among the Southern men, and on the other by the Anti-Slavery party of the North. General Taylor died while the measures were pending; but Mr. Fillmore, who succeeded him, was decidedly in favor of them, and promptly signed all the bills. Those who carried them through Congress, and those who supported them on the stump and in the press, deluded themselves with the idea that they were a finality; that they took away all matters of difference, or at least established the principles upon which all future questions arising out of them were to be decided; and that the people would regard a reopening of the agitation as unpatriotic and meddlesome.

Acquiescence in the settlement was really quite general in the Democratic party. The two wings of the party reunited, and carried most of the elections, as against the Whigs, who lost the unswerving Abolition and Anti-Slavery vote. It was evident that the Democrats would go into the election of 1852 a united party, provided a candidate unobjectionable to both wings could be found. It was equally evident that anything like a hearty union of Whigs was out of the question.

There was much preparation, and there was a great deal of discussion and intrigue, in each party, months before the time of nomination. The leading candidate on the Democratic side was General Cass, who had been defeated four years before. Mr. James Buchanan, however, was very strongly supported; and Stephen A. Douglas and William L. Marcy each had many friends. But it does

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to have been confidently anticipated that either gentlemen would succeed in securing the necessary thirds, and the experience of 1844 was frequently in mind.

Things were in a worse case. Mr. Webster was not one of their statesmen, but after his 7th of March speech it was impossible as a candidate to that wing of the party which regarded the compromise measures of 1850 with favor. On the other hand, the Southern members of the House were firmly resolved not to accept any candidate not in favor of those measures. Mr. Fillmore, an accidental President, had stood by them, and was in favor of nominating him for re-election. General Taylor had loomed up four years before as an honest and non-committal candidate, so now there was a strong movement in favor of General Winfield Scott. No one knew what was his position on the subject of compromises, and there was a careful and successful effort to keep the Whig public in the dark. But, what happened before and since that time, the most energetic efforts in favor of the candidate who was even-

did not adjourn until the 6th of the month, but it was not very interesting. John W. Davis of Indiana was the president. After a short contest, the two-thirds rule was adopted by an overwhelming majority. The struggle over the nomination was protracted. On the first ballot, General Cass had 116; James Buchanan, 93; William L. Marcy, 27; Stephen A. Douglas, 20; Joseph Lane, 18; Samuel Houston, 8; and there were 4 scattering. The number necessary to a choice was 188. In the succeeding ballots the vote for Mr. Cass fell off, while the number of delegates who voted for Mr. Douglas steadily increased, until, on the twenty-ninth trial, the votes were: for Cass, 27; for Buchanan, 93; for Douglas, 91; and no other candidate had more than 26. At this point Cass began to recover his strength, and reached his largest number on the thirty-fifth trial, namely, 131. On that same ballot, Virginia gave 15 votes to Franklin Pierce. Mr. Pierce gained 15 more votes on the thirty-sixth trial; but at that point his increase ceased, and was then slowly resumed, as the weary repetition of balloting without effect went on. The forty-eighth trial resulted as follows: For Cass, 73; for Buchanan, 28; for Douglas, 83; for Marcy, 90; for Pierce, 55; for all others, 8. The forty-ninth trial was the last. There was a "stampede" for Pierce, and he received 282 votes to 6 for all others.

Ten persons were voted for in the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President, — William R. King of Alabama had 126; S. U. Downs of Louisiana, 30; John B. Weller of California, 28; William O. Butler of Kentucky, 27; Gideon J. Pillow of Tennessee, 25; David R. Atchison of Missouri, 25; Robert Strange of North Carolina, 23; T. J. Rusk of Texas, 12; Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, 2; Howell Cobb of Georgia, 2. On the second ballot, William R. King of Alabama was unanimously nominated.

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platform adopted was made up of the previous platform of the party, with some additions. It was identical with that of 1848, up to and including the resolution regarding slavery,—that numbered seven in the platform (p. 184), following which are these two resolu-

2, That the foregoing proposition covers, and is intended to cover, the whole subject of slavery agitated in Congress; and that the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this platform, will abide by, and adhere to, a faithful execution of the measures known as the "compromise" measures settled by the Congress, — the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or detention; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot with fidelity thereto be reformed or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at legislation in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

Following the resolutions in former platforms respecting the distribution of the proceeds of land sales, that regarding the veto power, and these additions: —

of the Democratic party, and insured to the United States indemnity for the past and security for the future.

Resolved, That, in view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World, a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility, upon the Democracy of this country, as the party of the people, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the union of States, and to sustain and advance among them constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it is, and the Union as it should be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

The Whig convention met at Baltimore on the 16th of June. All the States were represented, and John G. Chapman of Maryland was the permanent presiding officer. The Southern delegates held a caucus on the first day of the convention, and agreed upon a platform, thus forestalling the action of the convention itself. It was afterwards charged that there was a secret understanding that if this platform should be accepted a sufficient number of the Southern delegates would, in due time, leave Mr. Fillmore and go over to the support of General Scott, whose strength was chiefly in the North. The platform was subsequently, it is said, submitted to Mr. Webster's friends, and agreed to. It was substantially the same as the platform adopted by the convention. The supporters of Scott had counted, before the day of meeting, upon '55 votes for him at the start. But the great strength of Mr. Fillmore was admitted; and the advocates of Mr. Webster's claims hoped that, when the two leading contestants had worn each other out, the Fillmore vote would be transferred to him.

On the first trial Mr. Fillmore had 133; General Scott, 131; and Mr. Webster, 29. The convention voted fifty

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Before any material change took place. At no time, however, did General Scott fall below forty-nine votes, did General Scott fall below 131, or receive more than 189. Mr. Fillmore received more than 133 or fewer than 122. Mr. Fremont's highest vote was 32, his lowest 28. But from the first vote on to the fifty-third General Scott drew 142, 142, 146, and 159, which last number was more than were necessary to a choice. William Graham of North Carolina was easily nominated for President on the second ballot.

The platform, although reported by the committee on the first day, was almost unanimously, was not adopted without a dissent. It was as follows :—

The people of the United States, in convention assembled, adhere to the great conservative principles by which they are governed, and now, as ever, relying upon the intelligence and patriotism of the American people, with an abiding confidence in their capacity for self-government, and their devotion to the Constitution, do proclaim the following as the political sentiment which shall determine the establishment and maintenance of a national organization as a party was effected :—

The government of the United States is of a limited char-

artifice or force; but to teach by example, and show by our success, moderation and justice, the blessings of self-government, and the advantage of free institutions.

Fourth. That, as the people make and control the government, they should obey its Constitution, laws, and treaties, as they would retain their self-respect and the respect which they claim and will enforce from foreign powers.

Fifth. That the government should be conducted on principles of the strictest economy; and revenue sufficient for the expenses thereof, in time of peace, ought to be mainly derived from a duty on imports, and not from direct taxes; and in laying such duties sound policy requires a just discrimination, and protection from fraud by specific duties, when practicable, whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded to American industry, equally to all classes and to all portions of the country.

Sixth. The Constitution vests in Congress the power to open and repair harbors, and remove obstructions from navigable rivers, whenever such improvements are necessary for the common defence and for the protection and facility of commerce with foreign nations or among the States, — said improvements being in every instance national and general in their character.

Seventh. The Federal and State governments are parts of one system, alike necessary for the common prosperity, peace, and security, and ought to be regarded alike with a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment. Respect for the authority of each, and acquiescence in the just constitutional measures of each, are duties required by the plainest considerations of national, State, and individual welfare.

Eighth. That the series of acts of the Thirty-second Congress, the act known as the Fugitive Slave Law included, are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States as a settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace; and, so far as they are concerned, we will maintain them, and insist upon their strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand and the abuse of their powers on the other, not impairing their present efficiency; and we deprecate all further agitation of the question thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever, or however the attempt may be made; and we will

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the system as essential to the nationality of the Whig
the integrity of the Union.

section was, of course, to the last resolution of

It was warmly opposed, but was adopted by
212 to 70. The negative vote was given exclu-
Northern delegates, and by supporters of Scott
Fillmore and Webster.

mination of Pierce was warmly received by the
; that of Scott had a chilly reception in many
the North, and was nowhere welcomed in a spirit
the promise of victory. The action of the Whig
was coolly criticised by many of the party
The platform was distasteful to the Northern
the party, and the candidate excited no enthusi-
ere. He was esteemed as a gallant soldier, but
not recognized as a statesman, and his views were
known to inspire either section with confidence.
On the other hand, Mr Pierce, if not a very prominent
known to have opinions in accordance with the
platform, upon which the party was substan-

Invoking his guidance in our endeavors to advance it,— we now submit to the candid judgment of all men the following declaration of principles and measures:—

1. That governments deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed are instituted among men to secure to all those unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness with which they are endowed by their Creator, and of which none can be deprived by valid legislation, except for crime.

2. That the true mission of American Democracy is to maintain the liberties of the people, the sovereignty of the States, and the perpetuity of the Union, by the impartial application to public affairs, without sectional discriminations, of the fundamental principles of human rights, strict justice, and an economical administration.

3. That the federal government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

4. That the Constitution of the United States, ordained to form a more perfect Union, to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty, expressly denies to the general government all power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; and, therefore, the government, having no more power to make a slave than to make a king, and no more power to establish slavery than to establish a monarchy, should at once proceed to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence of slavery wherever it possesses constitutional power to legislate for its extinction.

5. That, to the persevering and importunate demand of the slave power for more slave States, new slave Territories, and the nationalization of slavery, our distinct and final answer is: No more slave States, no slave Territory, no nationalized slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves.

6. That slavery is a sin against God, and a crime against man, which no human enactment or usage can make right; and that Christianity, humanity, and patriotism alike demand its abolition.

7. That the fugitive slave act of 1850 is repugnant to the Constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world. We therefore deny its binding force upon the American people, and demand its immediate and total repeal.

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the doctrine that any human law is a finality, and not modification or repeal, is not in accordance with the founders of our government, and is dangerous to the people.

the acts of Congress known as the "compromise" of 1850, — by making the admission of a sovereign State upon the adoption of other measures demanded by the interest of slavery; by their omission to guarantee freedom Territories; by their attempt to impose unconstitutional on the power of Congress and the people to admit new their provisions for the assumption of five millions of debt of Texas, and for the payment of five millions more, cession of a large territory to the same State under menace, cement to the relinquishment of a groundless claim; and invasion of the sovereignty of the States and the liberties people, through the enactment of an unjust, oppressive, and tional fugitive slave law, — are proved to be inconsistent e principles and maxims of Democracy, and wholly inad- the settlement of the questions of which they are claimed ljustment.

no permanent settlement of the slavery question can be except in the practical recognition of the truth that sectional and freedom national; by the total separation ral government from slavery, and the exercise of its and constitutional influence on the side of freedom ; and

the public debt; and that the power and patronage of the government should be diminished, by the abolition of all unnecessary offices, salaries, and privileges, and by the election, by the people, of all civil officers in the service of the United States, so far as may be consistent with the prompt and efficient transaction of the public business.

14. That river and harbor improvements, when necessary to the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations or among the several States, are objects of national concern; and it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional powers, to provide for the same.

15. That emigrants and exiles from the Old World should find a cordial welcome to homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the New; and every attempt to abridge their privilege of becoming citizens and owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with inflexible determination.

16. That every nation has a clear right to alter or change its own government, and to administer its own concerns, in such a manner as may best secure the rights and promote the happiness of the people; and foreign interference with that right is a dangerous violation of the laws of nations, against which all independent governments should protest, and endeavor by all proper means to prevent; and especially is it the duty of the American government, representing the chief republic of the world, to protest against, and by all proper means to prevent, the intervention of kings and emperors against nations seeking to establish for themselves republican or constitutional governments.

17. That the independence of Hayti ought to be recognized by our government, and our commercial relations with it placed on a footing of the most favored nation.

18. That as, by the Constitution, the "citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," the practice of imprisoning colored seamen of other States, while the vessels to which they belong lie in port, and refusing the exercise of the right to bring such cases before the Supreme Court of the United States, to test the legality of such proceedings, is a flagrant violation of the Constitution, and an invasion of the rights of the citizens of other States, utterly inconsistent with the professions made by the slaveholders, that they wish the provisions of the Constitution faithfully observed by every State in the Union.

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that we recommend the introduction into all treaties hereafter negotiated between the United States and foreign nations of some provision for the amicable settlement of difficulties by resort to decisive arbitration.

That the Free Democratic party is not organized to aid the Whig or the Democratic wing of the great slave-combining party of the nation, but to defeat them both; and that, rejecting and renouncing both as hopelessly corrupt and unworthy of confidence, the purpose of the Free Democrats is to take possession of the Federal government, and administer it for the better protection of the rights and interests of the people.

That we inscribe on our banner, "Free soil, free speech, free men!" and under it will fight on and fight ever until triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

That upon this platform the convention presents to the people as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, John P. Hale of New Hampshire, and as a candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States, George F. Rives of Indiana, and earnestly commends them to the support of free men and all parties.

The canvass was not a very spirited one. All the early elections were favorable to the Democrats, and the result in November was a crushing defeat of the

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.			ELECTORS.	
	Franklin Pierce, N. H.	Winfield Scott, N. J.	John P. Hale, N. H.	Pierce.	Scott.
Maine.	41,609	82,548	8,080	8	-
New Hampshire . .	29,997	16,147	6,695	6	-
Vermont	18,044	22,178	8,621	-	6
Massachusetts . . .	44,569	52,688	28,023	-	18
Rhode Island . . .	8,735	7,626	644	4	-
Connecticut	33,249	80,857	8,160	-	-
New York	262,063	284,892	25,329	35	-
New Jersey	44,805	88,558	850	7	-
Pennsylvania	106,568	179,174	8,526	21	-
Delaware	6,318	6,293	62	-	-
Maryland	40,020	85,066	54	8	-
Virginia	73,858	58,572	-	15	-
North Carolina . . .	39,744	39,053	-	11	-
South Carolina* . .	-	-	-	8	-
Georgia	34,705	16,660	-	10	-
Alabama	26,881	15,033	-	9	-
Florida	4,318	2,875	-	3	-
Mississippi	26,876	17,548	-	7	-
Louisiana	18,647	17,255	-	6	-
Texas	13,552	4,995	-	4	-
Arkansas	12,179	7,404	-	-	-
Missouri	38,358	29,984	-	9	-
Tennessee	57,018	58,898	-	-	11
Kentucky	58,806	57,098	-	-	12
Ohio	169,220	152,526	81,082	23	-
Michigan	41,842	33,859	7,287	6	-
Indiana	95,340	80,901	6,929	13	-
Illinois	80,597	64,934	9,966	11	-
Wisconsin	83,658	22,240	8,814	6	-
Iowa	17,763	15,856	1,604	4	-
California	40,626	35,407	100	-	-
Totals	1,601,274	1,386,580	155,826	254	42

* By Legislature.

There was no unusual incident connected with the electoral count.

XIX.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA CONTEST.

ennial election of 1852 gave the death blow to
party. That organization had outlived its

It attempted to delude itself and the country
idea that the one question of the day, that of
the Territories, was settled, and could thence-
sregarded. Organized as the Whig party was,
possible for it to antagonize the Democratic
ch, whatever comforting assurances it might
n platforms, was constantly acting in a way to
introduction of slavery into the Territories easy,
er its exclusion impossible. For it was held
merican citizen might settle in any Territory
s property of any kind, including slaves; that
power in a territorial government to prohibit

held. But the Whig pretence, that the slavery question was settled by the compromise measures of 1850, was kept up for some years longer, until it became no longer possible to practise self-deception.

This delusion, however, very soon after the election of 1852, took a new phase. Native Americanism had been a favorite doctrine in certain parts of the North for many years, and of late it had been a growing sentiment. It was confined to no party, and the political method of those who believed in the principle that "Americans must rule America," and who were animated by hostility to the Roman Catholic Church, was to choose between candidates already nominated. Occasionally, however, in the cities of New York and Philadelphia, they nominated candidates of their own, and succeeded in electing them to local offices. The membership was carefully guarded; for the societies were secret, and the initiated were bound by oaths. The order which existed before 1850 was superseded, soon after the election of 1852, by a new one, the Order of United Americans, which became popularly known as the Know-Nothing Order, from the ignorance, even of the existence of such an association, which was professed by all its members. A very large proportion of the Whigs, hoping to transfer the political issue from slavery to Native Americanism, joined the order, and for some years it had extraordinary success in State elections; but, as Horace Greeley predicted at the time when it was at the height of its power, it was destined "to run its career rapidly, and vanish as suddenly as it appeared. It *may* last through the next presidential canvass; but hardly longer than that. . . . It would seem as devoid of the elements of persistence as an anti-cholera or an anti-potato-rot party would be." It was chiefly confined to the East at first, and later it extended to the South, even as

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as, where it became strong enough to carry one but it never had much success, or an organization in the West.

Impossible to keep the slavery question out of Mr. Pierce congratulated the country, at the close of his administration, that the agitation had been so general that both parties were pledged to treat a revival of the controversy as an unpatriotic act; but it was once more revived by the proposition to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The struggle between the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery factions over Kansas, both within and without the Territory, was one of unexampled bitterness but during a large part of the administration the opponents of the administration were without any organization, or with only an imperfect one. The Republican party, composed largely of former Whigs but with a liberal contingent from the Democrats, was formed in 1854. It first appeared in the elections of that year, and in 1855 carried the elections in Massachusetts and Ohio, largely failed in New York

In the South the American party was at the time of its greatest success, having absorbed most of the Whig strength. Although the Whig party had not formally acknowledged that it had ceased to exist, it was really only a memory, and the members merely accepted and voted for the candidates of the Know Nothings.

The first convention preliminary to the convention of 1856 was that of the Americans. It was held on Washington's birthday, Feb. 22, 1856. But already the "National Council" of the order had been in session three days, beginning on the 19th of the month, and had adopted the platform of the party. This platform was as follows:—

1. An humble acknowledgment of the Supreme Being, for His protecting care vouchsafed to our fathers in their successful revolutionary struggle, and hitherto manifested to us, their descendants, in the preservation of their liberties, the independence and the union of these States.

2. The perpetuation of the Federal Union and Constitution, as the palladium of our civil and religious liberties and the only sure bulwark of American independence.

3. Americans must rule America; and to this end native-born citizens should be selected for all State, Federal, and municipal offices of government employment, in preference to all others Nevertheless,

4. Persons born of American parents residing temporarily abroad should be entitled to all the rights of native-born citizens.

5. No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth) who recognizes any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate, or power, or who refuses to recognize the Federal and State Constitutions (each within its sphere) as paramount to all other laws as rules of political action.

6. The unqualified recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several States, and the cultivation of harmony and fraternal good will between the citizens of the several States, and, to this end, non-interference by Congress with questions appertaining solely to the individual States, and non-intervention by each State with the affairs of any other State.

... laws thereof, and who have
in any such Territory, ought to participate in
a constitution or in the enactment of laws for
State.

8. An enforcement of the principle that no S
ought to admit others than citizens to the right
holding political offices of the United States.

9. A change in the laws of naturalization, mal
residence of twenty-one years, of all not heretof
an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereaft
all paupers and persons convicted of crime from l
shores; but no interference with the vested rights

10. Opposition to any union between Church
interference with religious faith or worship, and
office.

11. Free and thorough investigation into any
abuses of public functionaries, and a strict eco
expenditures.

12. The maintenance and enforcement of all laws
enacted, until said laws shall be repealed or shall b
and void by competent judicial authority.

13. Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy
Administration in the general management of our r
and more especially as shown in removing "A
designation) and conservatives in principle, from off
foreigners and ultraists in their places; as shown
subserviency to the stronger, and an insolent and co
toward the weaker powers.

disgracing meritorious naval officers through prejudice or caprice; and as shown in the blundering mismanagement of our foreign relations.

14. Therefore, to remedy existing evils, and to prevent the disastrous consequences otherwise resulting therefrom, we would build up the "American Party" upon the principles hereinbefore stated.

15. That each State Council shall have authority to amend their several constitutions, so as to abolish the several degrees, and substitute a pledge of honor, instead of other obligations, for fellowship and admission into the party.

16. A free and open discussion of all political principles embraced in our platform.

The convention, which met on the 22d, consisted of 227 delegates from 27 States of the Union, — all except Maine, Vermont, South Carolina, and Georgia. Having organized by the choice of Ephraim Marsh of New Jersey as President, and having decided cases of contested seats, the convention became involved in a long and angry debate over the right of the National Council to make the platform of the party. A resolution was presented:—

That the National Council has no authority to prescribe a platform of principles for this nominating convention, and that no candidates for President and Vice-President who are not in favor of interdicting slavery into territory north of 36° 30', by congressional action, shall be nominated by this Convention.

A motion to lay this resolution on the table was accepted as a test of the strength of the two wings of the party. The motion was carried by a vote of 141 to 59. A motion to proceed to nominate a candidate for President was successful, 151 to 51. Thereupon nearly all the delegates from New England and Ohio, and a part of those from Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Iowa, withdrew from the convention. An informal ballot gave Millard Fillmore 71 votes, George Law of New York 27, Garrett Davis of

Lincoln was therefore nominated. On the 1st of May for a candidate for Vice-President, Andrew J. Johnson of Tennessee had 181, Henry J. Gardner of Massachusetts 12, Kenneth Raynor 8, and Percy Walker of Alabama 1. Mr. Donelson was declared nominated, and the convention adjourned. Soon after this the seceding convention met and nominated for President Colonel John C. Fremont of California, and for Vice-President Ex-Governor William F. Johnston of Pennsylvania.

The meeting of the Democratic National Convention was looked forward to with much interest. A great number of members still adhered to the party who were not disposed to yield to what the general drift of sentiment in the United States regarded as the arrogant and unreasonable claims of the slave interest. The division of the party was very serious in New York, where the two factions were known as the "hards" and the "softs." Mr. Pierce was in high favor with the Southern delegates and with the Southern people; the Northern and more moderate members of the party preferred Mr. Buchanan; while Mr. Douglas had a strong hold upon the popular heart, and was regarded as the most natural successor to Mr. Pierce's administration should that gentleman's nomination become impossible. The excitement at Cincinnati, where the convention was to meet, ran very high on the days before the meeting.

The convention met on the 2d of June. All the States were fully represented, and two sets of delegates appeared from each of the States of New York and Missouri. The Anti-Bentonites were the "regulars" from the latter State. The contestants signalized their advent by knocking down the door-keeper, who endeavored to prevent them from entering the hall. The scene was an incipient riot. When order had been restored, the presiding officer administered to the intruders such a stinging rebuke for their lawless conduct that they retired, and, as the committee on credentials reported against their claim, they were seen no more. The "hards" and "softs" of New York were quite as bitter in their quarrel as the more turbulent Missourians; but they waited peaceably, and finally both delegations were admitted, each delegate to have half a vote. The permanent chairman was John E. Ward of Georgia. There was no opposition to the two-thirds rule. On the first vote for a candidate for President, James Buchanan had 135, Franklin Pierce 122, Stephen A. Douglas 33, and Lewis Cass 5. The Southern States gave on this vote 72 to Mr. Pierce, 29 to Mr. Buchanan, and 14 to Mr. Douglas. The North gave 106 to Buchanan, 50 to Pierce, 19 to Douglas, and five to Cass. On the second and succeeding votes Mr. Buchanan's strength increased very slowly but steadily; Mr. Pierce's fell off rapidly, and the most of this loss was Mr. Douglas's gain, so that on the sixteenth trial the result was, for Mr. Buchanan 168, for Mr. Pierce none, for Mr. Douglas 121, and for General Cass 6. Mr. Buchanan had had a majority on the tenth vote, and he now lacked but eighteen of two thirds. On the seventeenth vote the delegations began changing in his favor, and he received all the votes, 296, and was declared nominated. Ten candidates were voted for as candidates for Vice-President on the first

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leader was John A. Quitman of Mississippi, votes, closely followed by John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky with 55. Linn Boyd of Kentucky had 33, W. Johnson of Georgia 31, James A. Bayard of Delaware 31, Aaron V. Brown of Tennessee 29, James of North Carolina 13, Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Georgia 11, Trusten Polk of Missouri 5, and Thomas of Texas 2. On the second vote the names of Quitman and of most of the other leading candidates were withdrawn, and Mr. Breckinridge was unanimously nominated.

platform, which was adopted without opposition, in the preamble first adopted in 1844, and re-subsequent platforms. Then follow ten of the which form a part of previous platforms, the first five of 1840, in order, and those relating proceeds of the public lands; against a national favor of a separate treasury; regarding the veto against abridgment of the privileges of aliens citizens. To these the following were added:—

foreign-born, is neither justified by the past history nor future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlightened freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose the well-considered declarations of former conventions upon the sectional issue of domestic slavery and concerning the reserved rights of the States, —

1. That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that all such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress, and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the "compromise" measures, settled by the Congress of 1850, the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

4. The Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principle laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1797 and 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia legislature in 1799; that it adopts these principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people, North and South, to the Constitution and the Union, —

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ed, That, claiming fellowship with and desiring the
of all who regard the preservation of the Union under
tion as the paramount issue, and repudiating all sen-
and platforms concerning domestic slavery which seek
the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to
territories, and whose avowed purpose, if consummated,
civil war and disunion, the American Democracy rec-
adopt the principles contained in the organic laws estab-
Territories of Nebraska and Kansas as embodying the
and safe solution of the slavery question, upon which
national idea of the people of this whole country can
determined conservation of the Union, and non-inter-
congress with slavery in the Territories or in the Dis-
umbia.

This was the basis of the compromise of 1850, confirmed
Democratic and Whig parties in national conventions,
the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to
tion of the Territories in 1854.

by the uniform application of the Democratic principle.
ization of Territories, and the admission of new States
out domestic slavery, as they may elect, the equal rights
ates will be preserved intact, the original compacts of the
maintained inviolate, and the perpetuity and expan-
Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in
mony, every future American State that may be con-

sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many; and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

1. *Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic question whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas, and progressive free trade throughout the world, and by solemn manifestations to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

2. *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other States of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine. Their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction, and should be applied with unbending rigidity.

3. *Resolved*, That the great highway, which nature as well as the assent of States most immediately interested in its maintenance has marked out for free communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times, in the unconquerable energy of our people; and that result would be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it; and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with relations that it may suit our policy to establish between our government and the governments of the States within whose dominions it lies. We can, under no circumstances, surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

4. *Resolved*, That, in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the inter-oceanic isthmus.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will expect of the next administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain permanent pro-

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the great outlets through which are emptied into its products raised out of the soil and the commodities the industry of the people of our Western valleys and of large.

That the administration of Franklin Pierce has been democratic principles, and therefore true to the great interests of the country. In the face of violent opposition he has maintained his position at home, and vindicated the rights of American industry; and therefore we proclaim our unqualified admiration of his measures and policy.

Republican national convention was one of the most important conventions ever known in our political history. The delegates were not chosen by any settled system, as there much, if any, regard paid to the number of votes to which a State should be entitled. New York 96 votes, Pennsylvania 81, and Ohio 69. All the Northern States were represented, as were also Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky. Colonel Henry S. Lane of Indiana was made the president of the convention; and for lack of something better to do, the convention gave itself up to a season of speech-making of a most earnest and enthusiastic character. The

twelve other candidates received some votes. Mr. Dayton was then unanimously nominated. The selection of Fremont was due in no small degree to the fact that he had already been nominated by the seceding Know-Nothings, and a communication from the officers of the convention which placed him in nomination was frequently referred to, but was not read. Governor Johnston, who was nominated by the seceding Americans for Vice-President, received only two votes in the Republican convention, however. The following platform was adopted by the Republicans:—

This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free Territory; in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State, of restoring the action of the Federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do resolve as follows:—

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our Republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with the unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior designs of our Federal government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in any Territory of the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial legislature, of any

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relation of individuals, to give legal existence to territory of the United States, while the present be maintained.

the Constitution confers upon Congress over the Territories of the United States, for their that in the exercise of this power it is both the of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those arism, polygamy and slavery.

while the Constitution of the United States was blished by the people in order to form a more ablish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, pro non defence, and secure the blessings of liberty, e provision for the protection of the life, liberty, every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of as have been fraudulently and violently taken territory has been invaded by an armed force, ended legislative, judicial, and executive officers them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by r of the government, tyrannical and unconstitu- been enacted and enforced; the rights of the ed bear arms have been infringed; test oaths of and entangling nature have been imposed as a cising the right of suffrage and holding office; cused person to a speedy and public trial by an s been denied; the right of the people to be rsons, houses, papers, and effects against unrea- and seizures has been violated; they have been erty, and property without due process of law; of speech and of the press has been abridged; e their representatives has been made of no effect; s, and arsons have been instigated and en- offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; —

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and, as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

One other convention was held, that of the Whigs, at Baltimore, on the 17th of September, in which there was a more or less full representation of twenty-six States. No delegates were present from Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Texas, or California. Edward Bates of Missouri was the President. The proceedings were brief and uninteresting. The nominations of Fillmore and Donelson were accepted by resolution, and the following platform was adopted:—

Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States, now here assembled, hereby declare their reverence for the Constitution of the United States, their unalterable attachment to the national Union, and a fixed determination to do all in their power to preserve them for themselves and their posterity. They have no new principles to announce, no new platform to establish, but are content to broadly rest—where their fathers rested—upon the Constitution of the United States, wishing no safer guide, no higher law.

Resolved, That the government of the United States, by the conjunction in political unity of widely separated sections, materially differing not only in climate but in social and domestic institutions; and that a permanent array of the different sections of the country, hostility and organized parties, founded only on sectional distinctions, must inevitably prove fatal to a co-national Union.

Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States, as a fundamental rule of political faith, an absolute non-interference with geographical parties. The danger so clearly before the Father of his Country has now become fearfully aggravated, now convulsing the nation, and must be met, if we would preserve our Constitution and our Union, if we would preserve the name of America from being disgraced from the family of civilized nations.

Resolved, That all who reverence the Constitution must look with alarm at the parties in the field of the presidential campaign, — one claiming only to represent the Northern States, and the other appealing mainly to the prejudices of the Southern States; that the contest must add fuel to the flame which now threatens our dearest interests in a common ruin.

Resolved, That the only remedy for an evil so great is to support a candidate pledged to neither of the geographical parties now arrayed in political antagonism, but holding both in equal regard. We congratulate the friends of the Union.

these attributes, in possessing the one transcendent merit of being a representative of neither of the two sectional parties now struggling for political supremacy.

Resolved, That, in the present exigency of political affairs, we are not called upon to discuss the subordinate questions of administration in the exercising of the constitutional powers of the government. It is enough to know that civil war is raging, and that the Union is imperilled; and we proclaim the conviction that the restoration of Mr. Fillmore to the presidency will furnish the best if not the only means of restoring peace.

The canvass which followed was an extraordinary one. In the South it was sluggish enough, for the contest was only between Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Fillmore; and the former attracted to himself the support of the entire slaveholding interest and of all who were concerned for the maintenance of the political power of the slavery system. But in the North the Republicans conducted a canvass rivalling that of 1840 in enthusiasm, and having behind it what the "hard cider" campaign lacked, a definite moral purpose and a clearly understood policy. Great political clubs were organized, which marched from place to place visiting each other, uniformed and bearing torches. Immense public meetings were held, and the Northern heart was fired as it had never been before. But the Republican canvass was destined to end in defeat, although the earlier elections of the autumn indicated a Republican victory. In Vermont more than three fourths of the votes were Republican, and Maine, which had been carried in 1855 by a fusion party of Democrats and "Straight" Whigs, was now carried by the Republicans by almost 18,000 majority. But the October elections were unfavorable; for while Ohio gave a Republican majority, Indiana was lost, and Pennsylvania gave the Democratic candidates on the State ticket majorities over the united Republican and Whig vote. "The Quakers did not come out," it was said; but all who

STATES.	James Buchanan Penn.	John C. Fremont Cal.	Millard Fillmore N. Y.
Maine	39,080	87,379	3,325
New Hampshire	32,789	38,345	■
Vermont	10,509	39,561	545
Massachusetts	39,240	108,190	19,626
Rhode Island	6,680	11,467	1,675
Connecticut	34,995	42,715	2,615
New York	195,878	276,007	124,604
New Jersey	46,943	28,338	24,115
Pennsylvania	230,710	147,510	82,175
Delaware	8,004	■	6,175
Maryland	39,115	281	47,460
Virginia	39,706	201	60,310
North Carolina	48,246	-	36,886
South Carolina*	-	-	-
Georgia	56,578	-	42,228
Alabama	46,739	-	28,552
Florida	6,858	-	4,833
Mississippi	35,446	-	24,195
Louisiana	22,164	-	20,709
Texas	81,169	-	15,639
Arkansas	21,910	-	10,787
Missouri	58,164	-	48,524
Tennessee	78,638	-	66,178
Kentucky	74,642	314	67,416
Ohio	170,874	187,497	28,126
Michigan	52,186	71,762	1 ann
Indiana			

The count of the electoral vote on this occasion was enlivened by a scene unlike any which had ever occurred. The usual resolution for counting the votes was adopted, and if the fact that there was anything unusual in the certificate of any State was known in advance, it does not appear from the record; but, in point of fact, the electors for Wisconsin had not met on the day fixed by law, which day, says the Constitution itself, "shall be the same throughout the United States," but on the next day after. A very severe snowstorm had prevented the electors from reaching the capital of the State in season to give their votes on the 3d of December, and they had met and voted on the 4th.

When the votes of Wisconsin were presented at the joint meeting of the two Houses, an objection was made to counting them. The president *pro tempore* of the Senate, the Hon. James M. Mason of Virginia, ruled that debate was not in order while the tellers were counting the votes. The count having been concluded, Mr. Letcher of Virginia, of the House of Representatives, inquired if it would then be in order to move that the votes of Wisconsin be excluded. The president ruled that it was not in order. Senator Crittenden of Kentucky wished to know if the chair decided "that Congress, in no form, has power to decide upon the validity or invalidity of a vote?" The president, having disclaimed the intention to make any such decision, proceeded to recapitulate the votes, giving Buchanan and Breckinridge 174 each, and Fremont and Dayton 114 each (which included the votes of Wisconsin), and to declare the election of the former. Protests were raised on all sides, from both parties and from both Houses. In spite of the declaration of the presiding officer that no debate was in order, there was a long and rambling debate, in which the most diverse views

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anced, and which was only cut short by the withdrawal of the Senate. The matter was immediately taken up in each House, and discussion was continued for several days.

The debates on that occasion are the most valuable to the student of political history, as to this *cause* of the Constitution, that have ever taken place. The question was considered without a spirit of party. The vote of Wisconsin would not affect the result, whether counted or rejected. There was very much of the spirit of the Constitution displayed by many of the speakers, but, on the other hand, there was also much pro-secessionary feeling.

It is not possible here to give a sketch of this most interesting debate. Nothing more can be done than to summarize some of the views advanced. On the main question, the Whigs generally thought the votes of Wisconsin should be counted; Democrats, for the most part, took the opposite view. Upon the question who, under the Constitution, should count, that is, who decide what were the legal votes, the divergence of opinion was amazing. Some

decide whether or not to go into an election of President.

There was still another point on which the difference of opinion was very decided. The president of the Senate stoutly affirmed that he had neither counted nor rejected the votes, although he had said: "The state of the votes as delivered by the tellers is . . . for John C. Fremont of California, 114 votes." Many senators sustained the assertion of Mr. Mason that he had not counted the votes, while others declared that he had counted them. Numerous resolutions were offered in each branch, but the debate produced nothing more than a resolution of formal notification to Messrs. Buchanan and Breckinridge that they had been elected. The opinion that the whole subject ought to be taken up and considered, and the doubtful points determined by law, was very generally expressed; but, as soon as the matter in hand was disposed of, the subject was dropped. The Congress was then in the last month of its term, and it was too busy to take further notice of a danger past which might never return. So the disputed point was left for a Republican Congress to decide, according to the political exigency of the hour, in the midst of a civil war.

XX.

THE LAST STRUGGLE FOR SLAVERY.

THE whole of Mr. Buchanan's administration the country was on the verge of civil war. It was, considering the state of the public mind, an evidence of rare self-restraint that war did not break out. Parties were most divided on the one great issue of slavery; the line between the Republicans and the Democrats was broad one, there was a great variety of opinion in the ranks of each party. The most conservative wing, however, was firm and decided in the conviction that slavery could not exist in any Territory in defiance either to the will of Congress or to that of the people of the Territory. The Democratic party comprised two wings. The radical wing held that all citizens of the United States had the right, without question,

when the State was admitted without slavery. The story of that contest forms one of the darkest pages of American political history. It is a record of perfidy and violence. The attempt to force the Lecompton Constitution upon the people, under the patronage of the executive department of the government, was matched by the baseness of the offer by Congress of a bribe to the people if they would accept it. The South, struggling as it was to maintain the political power of the section and of its social system, could not have claimed less than it did claim, and it had the support of the Supreme Court in its assertion of the national character of the slavery system. But, on the other hand, the moral sense of the Northern people was outraged by the effort to force slavery upon an unwilling people, and by the repeated violations of good faith which were resorted to in order to make the attempt successful. Kansas had seven governors in five years, one of whom was removed because he would not be the tool of the pro-slavery party, and another, a Mississippian, an ex-Senator, and Secretary of the Treasury during the whole of Polk's administration, resigned because the President would not keep the pledge, officially, which he had verbally made to the Governor, that the people of Kansas should be allowed to vote on the whole Lecompton Constitution.

The minor issues developed during this administration, in the contests over the homestead and pre-emption laws, in the revelations made by the Covode investigating committee, and by the state of the national finances, would have been enough to cause an exciting election in 1860, even if the Kansas struggle, the Dred Scott decision, and the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry, had not kept the public attention unchangeably fixed on the question of slavery.

North and South, and it had numerous
tives among the politicians of the North, so
were no doubt intellectually convinced that
tional position assumed in defence of slave
was correct; while others were with the ad
because it was the administration, and
Southern view because the ascendancy of a
a political power, if secured by their assist
give them office and standing in the party.

On the other side was the faction whose shi
"Popular Sovereignty," led by Senator Dougla
designated by the voice of this wing as the ca
the presidency, long before he fell under the
of the administration and of the Southern sena
wing of the party was very powerful at the
constituted almost the whole of the Democrat
New England and in the greater part of the V
than half of the party in New York, and a stron
of it in Pennsylvania.

The Republicans were of all shades of a
opinion, and while they were absolutely united
ing the administration of Mr. Buchanan, it
means certain that the party could not

ciples, though it kept them in a petty minority, to be drawn into the support of a candidate of doubtful quality.

Besides these two parties, and their factions, there was a large surplus remnant. There were the old Whigs, whom time, in its rapid flight, had left behind the age; there were the Native Americans, who, in the South, hated the Democrats, and yet could not join with their great opponents the Republicans; and there were a great many well-meaning men, all over the country, who deprecated the prevailing strife, who really did not think the slavery question worth so much discussion, and who feared that unless something were done to calm down the angry disputants there would be war. These several elements became temporarily united in the Constitutional Union party, as patriotic a party as was ever organized, but one which could not succeed in its mission because the time had come when the self-preservation of the South, as a political power, and the moral sense of the North, demanded that the pending question be settled finally and forever.

The Democratic convention was the first to be held. It met at Charleston, S. C., on the 23d of April, 1860. There were full delegations from every State in the Union, and contesting delegations from New York and Illinois. In the former State the "hards," led by Fernando Wood, had been elected by districts, while the "softs," who were favorable to Senator Douglas, were chosen by a State convention, which met at Syracuse the autumn previous. The two Illinois delegations were respectively for and against Mr. Douglas. As soon as Mr. Francis B. Flournoy of Arkansas had taken the chair as temporary presiding officer of the convention, an angry debate began upon these contested seats, for the national committee had given tickets of admission, in each case, to the Douglas delegates, and had shut out their opponents.

the party until a platform had been adopted. The day was occupied in deciding the contest in favor of the New York "softs," and the delegates from Illinois. It was only on the 27th of the day of the convention, that the committee reported to the assembly a majority and minority sets of resolutions. Two days of discussion and of numerous propositions to amend, followed. On the 28th, a motion was carried to recommend the subject to the committee on resolutions; and the motion, to instruct the committee to report a form which was offered by the mover, Sen. Bigler of Pennsylvania, was rejected. Late in the day the committee reported back a series of resolutions asserting, as the previous majority report had done, the extreme Southern view of the question of Territories. These resolutions were subsequently rejected by the convention of seceders, some mention of which will be found on page 224. A minority report was made, after several long speeches had been made, although signed by less than one half of the members of the platform committee, represented more than the electoral votes of the whole country. (Butler, who, throughout the convention, occupied a peculiar position, was not present.)

a vote was reached. General Butler's platform was rejected, by yeas 105, nays 198. The minority resolutions presented by Mr. Samuels of Iowa were then substituted for those of the majority, by 165 to 138. These resolutions were in the following terms: —

1. *Resolved*, That we, the Democracy of the Union, in convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic convention at Cincinnati in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject-matters; and we recommend as the only further resolutions the following: —

Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the Territories,—

2. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law.

3. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

4. *Resolved*, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States; and the Democratic party pledge such constitutional government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Coast at the earliest practicable period.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

6. *Resolved*, That the enactments of State legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effects.

This series having been substituted for the majority set, the several resolutions were then considered singly,

alternative but to withdraw. Mississippi
Texas followed, with their entire delegatio
two of those from Louisiana, all but thr
Carolina, three from Arkansas, two from
one from North Carolina joined the sece
next day, May 1st, 26 of the 33 delegates
10 votes of Georgia also withdrew. This
about 45 votes out of 303. The conventio
ing to some very remarkable speeches by
who did not secede, voted that, in balloting f
two thirds of a full convention, that is, 202
be necessary for a choice. The first vote w

Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois
R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia
James Guthrie of Kentucky
Andrew Johnson of Tennessee
Daniel S. Dickinson of New York
Joseph Lane of Oregon
Isaac Toucey of Connecticut
Jefferson Davis of Mississippi
Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire

The convention took, on that and the t
days, 57 votes. Mr. Douglas's

Guthrie, who gained most of the votes lost by Mr. Hunter, reached 66½ on the 39th trial, and had 65½ on the 57th. The strength of no other candidate reached 21 votes on any one of the 57 contests. The last vote of this series was: For Douglas, 151½; Guthrie, 65½; Hunter, 16; Lane, 14; Dickinson, 4; Davis, 1.

On the 3d of May, the tenth day of the convention, a resolution was adopted to adjourn to meet in Baltimore on the 18th of June, and that it be recommended to Democrats to fill the vacancies made by the withdrawal of delegates. This resolution was carried by 195 votes to 55. The only Southern votes given, on both sides of this question, were: Maryland, 8; Virginia, 15; North Carolina, 14; Kentucky, 2; Tennessee, 12; Missouri, 9; Arkansas, 1; total 61, of the 120 to which the South was entitled.

Meantime the seceders from the regular convention had met in another hall in Charleston, organized by the choice of Senator James A. Bayard of Delaware as president, and adopted as a platform the resolutions reported by the majority of the Committee on Resolutions of the National Convention (see page 224). After a session of four days they adjourned to meet in Richmond, Va., on the 11th of June. On reassembling at that time and place, Mr. John Erwin of Alabama was made president, and a resolution was adopted to adjourn again until the 21st of the month. At the adjourned session nothing was done, although the convention met every day, until the 28th of June, when what was left of the body adopted the nominations of Breckinridge and Lane, made by the seceders at Baltimore, and adjourned without day.

The regular convention reassembled at Baltimore on the 18th of June. The president, Caleb Cushing, on taking the chair, made a long address, in which he stated the

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of business, the significant part of which was an
that the adoption of the platform was subject
deration. The first business in order was the
of delegates from those States whose represen-
d withdrawn at Charleston. Three whole days
pied in the settlement of these questions; for in
es the original delegates had presented them-
readmission, and in other cases there were con-
legations. The action of the convention was in
ances in favor of the delegates pledged to Mr.
and accordingly, as soon as the membership of
ention was fully decided, a portion of the Vir-
egation set the example of a second secession.
e followed by most of the remaining members
Southern States, and by a few from the North;
Cushing, the president, also withdrew and re-
e chair, which was taken by Governor Tod of
he convention then proceeded to vote again for
te for President. On the first vote Douglas re-
3½ votes, Guthrie 10, and John C. Breckinridge
e votes were divided among four other candi-

Mr. Guthrie 5½ votes. The resolution of Mr. Church was then taken up and passed. Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama was nominated for Vice-President on the first vote, with almost complete unanimity. The following resolution, proposed from the floor, was adopted with only two dissenting votes, as an addition to the platform:—

Resolved, That it is in accordance with the interpretation of the Cincinnati platform, that, during the existence of the Territorial governments, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial legislature over the subject of the domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, should be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the general government.

This finished the proceedings of the convention. Mr. Fitzpatrick declined the nomination for Vice-President, and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia was substituted in his place by the National Committee.

Upon leaving the convention hall the seceders proceeded to organize a rival convention. They were joined by some delegates who had withdrawn from the convention at Charleston, and by the excluded contesting delegates. Mr. Cushing presided over the convention. Twenty-one States were wholly or partially represented, but no delegates were present from the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, South Carolina, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin. The convention made short work. It adopted the platform reported by the majority of the Committee on Resolutions of the Charleston convention, nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for President, and Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice-President, both by a unanimous vote, and adjourned. The platform adopted was as follows:—

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ed, That the platform adopted by the Democratic party shall be affirmed, with the following explanatory resolu-

That the government of a Territory organized by an act of Congress is provisional and temporary; and, during its existence, the citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with property in the Territory, without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or impaired by Congressional action.

That it is the duty of the Federal government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its constitutional jurisdiction extends.

That when the settlers in a Territory, having an adequate number, form a State constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, and, being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States; and that a Territory thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to our country, and just to Spain, at the earliest practicable moment.

That the enactments of State legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and repugnant to their effect.

put its candidates before the people. The Constitutional Union party held its first and only general convention at Baltimore on the 9th of May. Most of the States were represented, though not in all cases by delegates duly elected in primary meetings and conventions. Young as it was, the party was divided into two wings. The Southerners, mostly representatives of the still surviving Native American sentiment, desired to nominate General Sam Houston of Texas, while the old Whigs of the North did not relish such a candidacy. The latter were adjured not to pay so much attention to gentility, but to take a candidate who, rough as he might be, would carry many of the Southern States. Although the party was, by its very name, one of union, it had no sooner organized, by the choice of Washington Hunt of New York as president, than it fell into a very bitter debate as to the manner of voting, and as to the number of votes which delegations might cast. The Houston party was present in great force, and it was feared that, unless a strict rule were adopted, that candidate might be thrust upon the convention. When this difficulty had been surmounted, the Committee on Resolutions made a report, which was unanimously adopted, and the following platform was accepted:—

Whereas, Experience has demonstrated that platforms adopted by the partisan conventions of the country have had the effect to mislead and deceive the people, and at the same time to widen the political divisions of the country by the creation and encouragement of geographical and sectional parties, therefore,—

Resolved, That it is both the part of patriotism and of duty to recognize no political principle other than the Constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws, and that, as representatives of the constitutional Union men of the country in national convention assembled, we hereby pledge ourselves to maintain, protect, and defend, separately and unitedly, these great principles of public liberty and national safety, against

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es at home and abroad, believing that thereby peace may be restored to the country, the rights of the people and states re-established, and the government again placed in a position of justice, fraternity, and equality which, under the and Constitution of our fathers, has solemnly bound every of the United States to maintain a more perfect union, justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the commerce, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings to ourselves and our posterity.

votes only were necessary to effect a nomination of a candidate for President. They resulted as follows:—

	First.	Second.
Bell of Tennessee	68½	138½
el Houston of Texas	57	68
J. Crittenden of Kentucky	28	8½
ard Everett of Massachusetts	25	9½
M'Lean of Ohio	22	—
am A. Graham of North Carolina	22	18½
am C. Rives of Virginia	18	—
M. Botts of Virginia	9½	5½
am L. Sharkey of Mississippi	6	5
am L. Goggin of Virginia	3	—

number necessary to a choice on the second vote

Republicans were confident. They had carried every Northern State in which an election was held, in 1859, except California; Oregon, where the adverse majority was only 59; New York, where the combined vote of the Democrats and third party men was less than 2,000 more than that of the Republicans; and Rhode Island, where they were defeated by a fusion of all the opposition. Mr Seward was beyond a doubt the leading candidate, but there were several others who were strongly supported; and there was a very large section of the party which, though not unfriendly to Mr. Seward, and though grateful for his services, questioned the wisdom of putting in the field a candidate whose views were so pronounced, and whose attitude might alienate some elements which needed to be conciliated. Mr. Seward also encountered the bitter hostility of Horace Greeley, whose "Tribune" was the most powerful organ of opinion in the party. Nevertheless a large, influential, and well-organized body of delegates went to Chicago with a determination to effect the nomination of Mr. Seward.

The convention opened with delegates present from all the free States, also from Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and Texas, and from the Territories of Kansas, Nebraska, and the District of Columbia. David Wilmot of Pennsylvania was the temporary chairman, but the convention organized on the first day of its session by the choice of George Ashmun of Massachusetts as permanent president. There was a contest over the standing of the delegates from some of the Southern States, owing to a strong suspicion that they represented nobody but themselves, and were Republicans of the States which they claimed as their own, only for convention purposes. The convention, however, took a liberal view and allowed the delegates to retain their seats

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somewhat diminished voting strength in some

On the second day there was a debate over the question whether a majority of the whole number of delegates, or a majority of the States of the Union fully represented, or a majority of the delegates voting, should be required to nominate. The first proposition, which had previously have been almost equivalent to the two-thirds rule of the Democrats, was rejected by 381 votes to 130. The platform was reported, amended, and adopted as

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Representatives of the United States, in convention assembled, in view of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, make the following declarations:—

That the history of the nation, during the last four years, has established the propriety and necessity of the organization of the Republican party, and that the causes which led it into existence are permanent in their nature, and more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

And that the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the

often made by Democratic members, without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in person; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power entrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained

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erson should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without
e of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such
is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitu-
st all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority
s, of a territorial legislature, or of any individual, to give
ence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

we brand the recent reopening of the African slave-
er the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of
wer, as a crime against humanity, and a burning shame
ntry and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt
nt measures for the total and final suppression of that
traffic.

at in the recent vetoes, by their Federal governors, of the
legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery
territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted
ic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty,
in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and a demonstration of the
and fraud involved therein.

at Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a
er the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her
l accepted by the House of Representatives.

at, while providing revenue for the support of the general
nt by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an
t of these imposts as to encourage the development of the
nterests of the whole country; and we commend that

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligations of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmation and support.

As originally reported, the second resolution did not contain the passage from the Declaration of Independence. It was proposed by Mr. Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio to insert it in the form of a separate resolution, "that we solemnly reassert the self-evident truth that all men," etc., but was rejected. Mr. George William Curtis of New York afterward moved to insert the passage in its present place, and the motion prevailed. On the third day of the convention the names of candidates for President were formally presented, but no speeches were allowed to be made by those who nominated the candidates. Three votes were taken amid increasing excitement, with the following result:—

	1st.	2d.	3d.
Whole number of votes	465	465	465
Necessary to a choice	233	233	233
William H. Seward of New York	178½	184½	180
Abraham Lincoln of Illinois	102	181	231½
Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania	50½	2	—
Salmon P. Chase of Ohio	49	42½	24½
Edward Bates of Missouri	48	35	22
William L. Dayton of New Jersey	14	10	1
John M'Lean of Ohio	12	8	5
Jacob Collamer of Vermont	10	—	—
Scattering	6	2	1

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Lincoln was within one and a half votes of a nomination when the roll call was completed. His majority was secured by a transfer of four votes from Ohio, and the delegation after delegation changed in his favor until he had 354 in all. On motion of Mr. W. M. Evarts of New York, seconded by Mr. John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, the nomination was made unanimous with the greatest enthusiasm. At a later session on the same day the convention voted twice for a candidate for Vice-President, with this result:—

	First.	Second.
Abraham Lincoln of Maine	194	867
James M. Clay of Kentucky	101½	86
William Hickman of Pennsylvania	58	13
John H. Reeder of Pennsylvania	51	—
Samuel P. Banks of Massachusetts	38½	—
Other	15	—

The nomination of Mr. Hamlin having been made unanimous, the convention adopted the following resolutions:—
 Motion of Mr. Giddings of Ohio, and then ad-

ern half of the country. The tactics which had been so efficacious in the successful Whig campaigns were again resorted to, and the Northern States were alive with processions, torch-light parades, and mass-meetings. In the South there was a grim determination to win the victory if possible, but not to submit to defeat. The mutterings of secession and war, in case Mr. Lincoln were elected, were frequently heard, but the supporters of the Republican party refused to believe that the South would be guilty of that madness. In the Northern section of the Democratic party there was an earnest effort to fuse all the elements in support of a union ticket of electors, with the implied, and in some cases the expressed, agreement that the electoral votes should be given to that candidate who should come the nearest to an election. This course was pursued only in the close States. Where there was no hope of a Democratic majority in any event, the two wings of the party had each its own electoral ticket. But it was all without avail. The early elections in Maine, Ohio, Indiana, and Pennsylvania, to say nothing of other States where the contest was not so close, foreshadowed the certain election of Mr. Lincoln, and the result in November more than justified the deductions from the September and October elections. Every Northern State except New Jersey was carried by the Republicans. The decision was hardly made by the people of the country before the South began to carry out the threats which had been only muttered before the election, and the new President succeeded to the administration of a government which was to fight for its very existence.

Thirty-three States took part in this election. Minnesota had been admitted to the Union on the 11th of May, 1858, and Oregon on the 12th of February, 1859. The popular and electoral vote was as follows:—

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	POPULAR VOTE.				ELECTORAL VOTE.			
	Abraham Lincoln, Ill.	Stephen A. Douglas, Ill.	John C. Breckinridge, Ky.	John Bell, Tenn.	Lincoln.	Douglas.	Breckinridge.	Bell.
Ala.	62,811	26,693	6,868	2,046	8	-	-	-
Calif.	57,519	26,881	2,113	441	5	-	-	-
Conn.	33,808	8,649	1,866	217	8	-	-	-
Del.	106,533	34,872	5,939	22,831	13	-	-	-
Fla.	12,244	7,707†	-	-	4	-	-	-
Ill.	43,792	15,522	14,641	3,291	6	-	-	-
Ind.	302,646	312,510†	-	-	36	-	-	-
Iowa	58,324	62,801†	-	-	4	8	-	-
Ky.	208,030	16,765	178,871†	12,776	27	-	-	-
La.	3,818	1,023	7,337	3,864	-	-	8	-
Maine	2,294	5,966	42,462	41,760	-	-	8	-
Maryland	1,929	16,260	74,323	74,681	-	-	-	15
Mass.	-	2,701	48,539	44,990	-	-	10	-
Mich.	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-
Minn.	-	11,500	51,889	42,886	-	-	10	-
Miss.	-	807	6,543	5,437	-	-	8	-
Mo.	-	13,651	48,831	27,875	-	-	9	-
N.H.	-	3,283	40,797	25,040	-	-	7	-
N.J.	-	7,025	22,801	20,204	-	-	8	-
N.Y.	-	-	47,548	15,438†	-	-	4	-

The official record of the electoral count contains nothing of interest. The proceedings were in strict accordance with precedent. But a single remark made by a member of the House of Representatives after the count was over suggests the condition of affairs at the time. Some trouble had been feared on the occasion of the count of votes, and no doubt precautions were taken against violence at any time, and particularly at that time. At any rate, the Southerners scented hostile preparations; and Mr. Hindman of Arkansas suggested that the committee to wait on the President elect "be directed to inform General Scott that there is no further need for his janizaries about the capitol, the votes being counted and the result proclaimed." The only attention paid to the sneer was in a retort from Mr. Grow of Pennsylvania, that "gentlemen seem to trouble themselves a good deal about General Scott on all occasions." The proceedings then terminated.

XXI.

THE WAR ELECTION.

lection of 1864 took place while the country was by civil strife. The war had been prosecuted Union armies with partial success; but, when the utterings of the coming political contest made es heard, the prospect of a speedy termination war was not cheering. President Lincoln was the one hand by the Democrats, who maintained war had not been carried on according to the tion, and on the other by a small but active mi- of the Republican party, who complained of his tism and his unwillingness to adopt the radical s which they deemed essential to national success. e great majority of his own party, however, he . The people had learned to trust his calmness

tinued in office. It was not good policy, he said,—and the phrase made the one argument which in any case would have turned the scale in his favor,—“to swap horses while crossing a stream.”

The certainty that the Republican convention,—which was called on Feb. 22, 1864, to meet in Baltimore on the 7th of June,—would nominate Mr. Lincoln, led the radical opponents of his administration in various parts of the country to attempt to forestall its action by calling a convention to meet on an earlier day at Cleveland. Several calls were published, all of them inviting the people to meet in mass convention in that city on the 31st of May. Among the signers of these calls were the Rev. Dr. Cheever of New York, B. Gratz Brown of Missouri, Lucius Robinson of New York, and other gentlemen then or since prominent in public affairs. Wendell Phillips, Frederick Douglass, and others sent letters approving the objects of the convention.

In answer to these calls, about three hundred and fifty persons met in Cleveland on the appointed day. General John Cochrane of New York was made president. A platform was adopted as follows:—

First. That the Federal Union shall be preserved.

Second. That the Constitution and laws of the United States must be observed and obeyed.

Third. That the rebellion must be suppressed by force of arms, and without compromise.

Fourth. That the rights of free speech, free press, and the *habeas corpus* be held inviolate, save in districts where martial law has been proclaimed.

Fifth. That the rebellion has destroyed slavery, and the Federal Constitution should be amended to prohibit its re-establishment, and to secure to all men absolute equality before the law.

Sixth. That integrity and economy are demanded at all times in the administration of the government, and that in time of war the want of them is criminal.

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That the right of asylum, except for crime and sub-
version, is a recognized principle of American liberty; that
its maintenance cannot be overlooked, and must not go unre-
cognized.

That the national policy known as the "Monroe Doc-
trine" has become a recognized principle, and that the establish-
ment of an anti-republican government on this continent by any
power cannot be tolerated.

That the gratitude and support of the nation are due to
the soldiers and the earnest leaders of the Union army and
their heroic achievements of deathless valor in defence of
our country and civil liberty.

That the one-term policy for the presidency adopted by
the Constitution is strengthened by the force of the existing crisis, and
should be maintained by constitutional amendments.

That the Constitution should be so amended that the
President and Vice-President shall be elected by a direct vote of the
people.

That the question of the reconstruction of the rebel-
lous States belongs to the people, through their representatives in
Congress, and not to the Executive.

That the confiscation of the lands of the rebels, and
the distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers, is a mea-
sure of justice.

ultimate result of this movement, although Mr. Lincoln did not join in it, was the withdrawal of both General Fremont and General Cochrane on the 21st of September, and the union of the Republican party in support of its regular candidates.

The call for the Republican National Convention was addressed to those "who desire the unconditional maintenance of the Union, the supremacy of the Constitution, and the complete suppression of the existing rebellion, with the cause thereof, by vigorous war, and all apt and efficient means." It met at Baltimore, June 7, 1864, and was presided over, temporarily, by the Rev. Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge of Kentucky, and, as permanent president, by ex-Governor William Dennison of Ohio. The platform was reported by Mr. Henry J. Raymond of New York, and was adopted unanimously, as follows:—

1. *Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union, and the permanent authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves as Union men, animated by a common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

2. *Resolved*, That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the

HISTORY OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

ing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

Resolved, That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the basis of this rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic; and that, while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its present emergency, has aimed a deathblow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, nevertheless, of such amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate forever the existence of slavery within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Resolved, That the thanks of the American people are due to the officers and sailors of the army and navy who have perilled their lives in defence of their country and in vindication of the Union flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent memorial of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received serious and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defence shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

Resolved, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the patriotism, and the unswerving fidelity with which

and which should characterize the administration of the government.

7. *Resolved*, That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war; and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

8. *Resolved*, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to this nation,—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations,—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

9. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of a speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

10. *Resolved*, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

11. *Resolved*, That we approve the position taken by the government, that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the western continent; and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

On a formal vote for a candidate for President, Mr. Lincoln received all the votes of every State, except those of Missouri, which were cast, in accordance with instructions, for General U. S. Grant. The nomination was then made unanimous. On the first ballot for a candidate for Vice-President, Andrew Johnson received 200; Hannibal Hamlin, 150; Daniel S. Dickinson, 108, and seven other candidates an aggregate of 61. Before the vote was declared

HISTORY OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

any changes took place, and the final result was: son, 494 votes, for Dickinson 17, for Hamlin 9. son was declared the candidate for Vice-Presi-

democratic convention met on August 29 at Chi- Governor William Bigler of Pennsylvania was rary president, and Governor Horatio Seymour New York the permanent president. The platform ted by Mr. James Guthrie of Kentucky, as fol-

1. That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with fidelity to the Union under the Constitution as the only ation of our strength, security, and happiness as a people, amework of government equally conducive to the wel- osperity of all the States, both Northern and Southern.
2. That this convention does explicitly declare, as the e American people, that after four years of failure to Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the a military necessity, or war power higher than the Consti- Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and ty and private right alike trodden down, and the mate- rity of the country essentially impaired, — justice, hu-

the Constitution; the subversion of the civil by military law in States not in insurrection; the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial, and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; the denial of the right of asylum; the open and avowed disregard of State rights; the employment of unusual test oaths; and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defence; are calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

Resolved, That the shameful disregard of the administration to its duty in respect to our fellow-citizens who are now, and long have been, prisoners of war and in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation, on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

Resolved, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiery of our army and the sailors of our navy, who are and have been in the field and on the sea, under the flag of our country; and, in the event of its attaining power, they will receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic have so nobly earned.

On the first ballot for a candidate for President, General George B. McClellan was nominated. He had been repeatedly mentioned in connection with the nomination for many months, and the sentiments of the Democratic party were concentrated in his favor long before the convention met. The vote as first taken resulted in 174 votes for McClellan; 38 for Thomas H. Seymour of Connecticut; 12 for Horatio Seymour of New York; $\frac{1}{2}$ vote for Charles O'Connor of New York, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ votes blank. But before the result was announced several changes were made, and the announcement was: For McClellan, $202\frac{1}{2}$ votes; for Thomas H. Seymour, $28\frac{1}{2}$, — the whole of the latter votes having been given by delegates from Ohio, Indiana, and the "border States." The nomination of General

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was made unanimous, on motion of Mr. Val-
n of Ohio.

t vote for a candidate for Vice-President resulted
: James Guthrie of Kentucky, 65½; George H.
of Ohio, 55½; Lazarus W. Powell of Kentucky,
rge W. Cass, 26; Daniel W. Voorhees of Indi-
J. H. Catton, 16; Augustus C. Dodge of Iowa, 9;
Phelps of Missouri, 8; blank, ½ vote. On the
al, Mr. Guthrie's name having been withdrawn,
s of all the other candidates, except those of
leton, withdrew their names also, and Mr. Pen-
s unanimously nominated.

avass that followed was one of great spirit. The
of the country was, it is true, earnestly fixed
progress of the war, and it could not be greatly
ong time diverted to a political contest; but the
s regarded and treated by the Republicans as one
portant campaigns of the war, and those who
with them were against the Union. They de-
he Democratic platform as a base and cowardly
to the enemy, and as an encouragement to those

General McClellan repudiated its obvious meaning in his letter of acceptance. Where the convention had demanded "a cessation of hostilities with a view to an ultimate convention of the States," the candidate expressed the belief that "so soon as it is clear, or even probable, that our present adversaries are ready for peace on the basis of the Union, we should exhaust all the resources of statesmanship . . . to secure such peace." The convention had proclaimed "four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war;" General McClellan wrote: "I could not look in the face of my gallant comrades of the army and navy, who have survived so many bloody battles, and tell them that their labors and the sacrifice of so many of our slain and wounded brethren had been in vain; that we had abandoned that Union for which we have so often perilled our lives." The convention said: peace first, and Union afterward, if it can be had. General McClellan said: The Union first, and then peace; "no peace can be permanent without union." The convention said that the war had been a failure; General McClellan could not look his old comrades in the face and say that.

This open repudiation of the expressed sentiments of the party saved many of the votes to General McClellan which would otherwise have been given to Mr. Lincoln. But although the party held its forces together much more generally than might have been expected, the plain common sense of the people taught them that Mr. Lincoln was the candidate whose election meant earnest and uncompromising war until the power of the rebellion was destroyed and the Union was restored, and they supported him. The general result was in doubt at no time.

The following table shows the electoral and popular vote in each of the States which participated in the election:—

HISTORY OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.		ELECTORAL VOTE.	
	Lincoln.	McClellan.	Lincoln.	McClellan.
Massachusetts	72,278	47,786	7	—
Connecticut	86,595	83,094	5	—
Rhode Island	42,422	13,325	5	—
Providence	126,742	48,745	12	—
Andover	14,343	8,718	—	—
North	44,693	42,288	6	—
Yorke	368,726	361,966	33	—
Yorke	60,723	68,014	—	7
Yorke	—	276,308	26	—
Yorke	8,155	8,767	—	—
Yorke	40,153	32,739	7	—
Yorke	27,786	64,301	—	11
Yorke	23,223	10,457	6	—
Yorke	265,154	205,568	21	—
Yorke	150,422	130,233	13	—
Yorke	189,487	168,349	16	—
Yorke	65,352	67,370	8	—
Yorke	87,331	49,260	—	—
Yorke	79,564	63,876	8	—
Yorke	25,060	17,376	—	—
Yorke	14,228	3,871	3	—
Yorke	72,991	31,026	11	—

STATES.	Lincoln.	McClellan.
Maine	4,174	741
New Hampshire	2,066	690
Vermont	243	49
Pennsylvania	26,712	12,849
Maryland	2,800	821
Kentucky	1,194	2,823
Ohio	41,146	9,757
Michigan	9,402	2,959
Iowa	15,178	1,864
Wisconsin	11,872	2,458
California	2,600	237
Totals	116,887	33,748

The total vote *counted*, including both the home and the army votes, was 4,166,537, and Mr. Lincoln's plurality was 494,567. The army votes of Vermont, Kansas, and Minnesota, which arrived too late to be counted, and certain votes rejected for informality in Wisconsin, would have brought up the total to about 4,175,000, and Mr. Lincoln's majority to a number in excess of half a million.

This was the first election since the adoption of the Constitution in which any State had deliberately neglected to appoint electors. In 1864 the authority of the United States was denied in, and complete sovereignty was claimed by the regular governments of, eleven States. But in some of these latter there had been set up rival governments, asserting their own loyalty to the Union, and claiming the recognition of Congress as the true government of those States. In one case at least the question presented was a puzzling one. The consent of the State of Virginia to the erection of the State of West Virginia within its territory, — consent which was required by the

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the Constitution, — was given by one of these governments. After the creation of that new government, however, the territory and the population which were under the authority of this government of Virginia were so small that Congress refused to recognize the claims of those who presented themselves as senators and representatives.

Nevertheless, pretended elections had been held in Alabama and Tennessee, and the question was evidently presented upon Congress whether or not the electoral votes cast in those States by a handful of men, many of whom were adventurers, were to be received. No such case had ever arisen before. Never had there been a case at the joint meeting of the two Houses of Congress to receive a certificate of electoral votes which it was clearly the duty of Congress to reject, if Congress had any power to do so.

In most such cases a decision of the question whether or not the disputed votes should be counted had been made; but in all these instances a determination by Congress could not affect the result. Nor would the decision of Congress on the rejection of the Southern votes in 1864

rebelled against the government of the United States, and were in such condition on the 8th day of November, 1864, that no valid election of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, according to the Constitution and laws thereof, was held therein on said day: therefore, —

Be it resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the States mentioned in the preamble to this joint resolution are not entitled to representation in the Electoral College for the choice of President and Vice-President of the United States for the term commencing on the 4th day of March, 1865, and no electoral votes shall be received or counted from said States concerning the choice of President and Vice-President for said term of office.

President Lincoln was committed to the validity and regularity of the governments of Louisiana and Tennessee. A State government was in full operation in the former State with Governor Hahn at the head of it, and the election in Tennessee had been ordered by Governor Andrew Johnson, Mr. Lincoln's associate on the ticket. Accordingly, the President was earnestly opposed to the resolution just recited, which virtually declared the invalidity of governments which he recognized if Congress did not. But the Republicans in Congress were resolved that the votes should not be counted, and they determined that if they could not exclude Louisiana and Tennessee by law, they would do it by joint action of the two Houses in counting the vote. Owing to a fear that the President would not sign the joint resolution, the "twenty-second joint rule," which played an important part during the sixteen years it was in force, was hastily drawn and as hastily adopted by both branches. At the same time great pressure was brought to bear upon the President to sign the joint resolution. He finally yielded on the very day of the count, February 8, but not in time to notify Congress officially that he had done so. But the joint rule, which would have been unnecessary if he had signed the resolu-

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promptly, and which was to make so much mis-
after years, had been adopted. It was as if

two Houses shall assemble in the hall of the House of
Representatives at the hour of one o'clock P. M., on the second
day in February next succeeding the meeting of the electors
President and Vice-President of the United States, and the
President of the Senate shall be their presiding officer. One teller
shall be appointed on the part of the Senate, and two on the part
of the House of Representatives, to whom shall be handed, as they
shall be presented by the President of the Senate, the certificates of the
electors of the several States, and said tellers, having read the same in the pres-
ence of the two Houses then assembled, shall make
known the votes as they shall appear from the said certificates;
and after the votes having been counted, the result of the same shall be
announced to the President of the Senate, who shall thereupon an-
nounce the state of the vote and the names of the persons, if any,
elected, which announcement shall be deemed a sufficient declara-
tion of the persons elected President and Vice-President of the
United States, and, together with a list of the votes, be entered on
the journals of the two Houses.

Upon the reading of any such certificate by the tellers, any
question shall arise in regard to counting the votes therein certi-
fied, and the same having been stated by the presiding officer, the Sen-

Representatives, in the body of the hall not occupied by the senators; for the tellers, Secretary of the Senate, and Clerk of the House of Representatives, at the Clerk's desk; for the other officers of the two Houses, in front of the Clerk's desk, and upon either side of the Speaker's platform.

Such joint meeting shall not be dissolved until the electoral votes are all counted and the result declared; and no recess shall be taken unless a question shall have arisen in regard to counting any of such votes, in which case it shall be competent for either House, acting separately, in the manner hereinbefore provided, to direct a recess, not beyond the next day at the hour of one o'clock P. M.

The power assumed by Congress in the adoption of this joint resolution has frequently been assailed as an invention of the Republican party, and as a power never before asserted. But by reference to the proceedings in Congress in the year 1800 (p. 31 *et seq.*), it will be seen that a bill making permanent provision for counting the electoral vote failed only because the Senate then insisted that either branch of Congress might reject a vote, while the House of Representatives maintained that it should be rejected only by a concurrent vote.

On the 8th of February the joint meeting was held. The Vice-President, Mr. Hamlin, presided. The votes were opened by him and read by the tellers. Having completed this ceremony, as the result was about to be declared, Senator Cowan of Pennsylvania inquired if there were any more returns to be counted, and if so, "why they are not submitted to this body in joint convention, which alone is capable of determining whether they should be counted or not." The Vice-President replied:—

The chair has in his possession returns from the States of Louisiana and Tennessee, but, in obedience to the law of the land, the chair holds it to be his duty not to present them to the convention.

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Mr. Cowan thereupon asked if the joint resolution become a law by the signature of the President, to which the Vice-President responded that it had been decided that there had been no official notification of the debate ensued upon the question whether the President should have been had under the joint resolution or under the joint rule. The Vice-President ultimately decided in favor of the resolution, and did not present the doubt.

The election of Abraham Lincoln of Illinois as President, and of Andrew Johnson of Tennessee as Vice-President, for the term commencing March 4, 1865, was proclaimed, and the joint convention was dissolved.

XXII.

GENERAL GRANT.

MR. LINCOLN was assassinated six weeks after taking the oath of office for a second term, and Andrew Johnson became President. The civil war was virtually at an end, and already the general plan of reconstruction of the States in rebellion was much discussed. That Mr. Lincoln's own views were much more liberal than those of most of the Northern statesmen who had supported his re-election, was known before his death. But a combination of circumstances was to make of the new President a more strenuous opponent of conditions to the readmission of the Southern States than Mr. Lincoln could ever have been.

The four years of Mr. Johnson's administration form the most agitated period in American political history. A bare list of some of the political events of the time is enough to show that the civil war between the two sections, North and South, was succeeded by war, bloodless but severe, between the executive and legislative departments of the government. Mr. Johnson's training had been that of a Southern State-rights Democrat, and although his patriotism was strong enough to keep him loyal when Tennessee voted herself out of the Union, no sooner was the military conquest of the Southern Confederacy accomplished, than his former principles reasserted themselves. The more radical Republicans of the North, remembering the experience of the Whigs with Mr. Tyler, were only too ready to see in all that Mr.

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did an evidence that he was to be treacherous to
o had elected him. He was continually under
and subjected to adverse criticism, from his
proclamations and his appointment of provisional
for the seceded States, until, led by his life-long
adhered to with all the more obstinacy because
persistent and violent opposition he encountered;
full sympathy with the Democratic party. Con-
ried through its measures of reconstruction only
ning a succession of vetoes. The President
his constitutional views, which were shared by
blicans, in returning the bills to establish the
's Bureau, to secure civil rights, to admit Colo-
the Union, and many others. He tried to remove
e Republicans, and to fill their places with Demo-
d Congress retorted upon him with the Tenure-
Bill, which Mr. Johnson returned without his
and which Congress promptly passed in spite
o. The savage contest with Secretary Stanton,
correspondence with General Grant, the disre-
anner in which the President spoke of Con-

party and a new school of politicians, and to form the issue on which future elections were to be decided. In the prosecution of the war a great debt had been created, and a part of this debt consisted of treasury notes, made a legal tender for all public and private debts, except duties on imports and the interest of the public debt. An attempt in the early part of Mr. Johnson's term to reduce the amount of legal-tender notes, or greenbacks, outstanding, had resulted in a temporary stringency in the money market, and had led to action by Congress which forbade a further reduction of the volume of the currency. The heavy taxation caused by the war, the high premium on gold, and the rapidly increasing value of government bonds which were drawing gold interest, induced some politicians to propose a variety of schemes which would lighten the burden of the taxpayer at the cost of a virtual breach of faith on the part of the government. One of these was the taxation of bonds, which were by their terms expressly exempted from State and municipal taxation. Taxation of them by national authority would have been the same thing as reducing the rate of interest which had been promised upon them. The most popular form of attack upon the bondholders was a proposition to pay the principal of the bonds in greenbacks. The letter of the law did not forbid this, but the Republicans maintained that the spirit of the law was against any such step, and that it would be virtual repudiation. A very large number of Democrats, particularly in the West, took up this proposition with great enthusiasm, among whom Mr. Pendleton of Ohio, who had been General McClellan's associate on the National Ticket in 1864, and was now regarded as the leading candidate for the first place in 1868, was one of the most prominent. While this view of public policy was most prevalent among Democrats,

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many Republicans also who shared it; Thaddeus Stevens being the most conspicuous example of dissent from the general opinion of the party, although even he voted in favor of a bill to strengthen the public credit which President Johnson defeated by a "pocket veto" which was in the canvass preliminary to the election of 1868. It was at the Democrats first manifested that preference for the greenback currency which has ever since been the principle of the controlling wing of the party.

In many circumstances united to make General Grant the natural and inevitable choice of the Republicans for a candidate for President. The chief of these were his military success and the conspicuous position into which he was thrust by the controversy with President Johnson. But added to these recommendations was the confidence reposed in his judgment in the choice of him, and the fact that he was no politician increased his popularity with the people who were tired of the intrigues of the past few years. General Grant, it was known, had never voted for Republican candidate before, and there were many persons who feared

ventions, as well as by popular sentiment, all the interest in the Republican Convention was concentrated upon the vice-presidency and the platform. The vote of the Senate upon the impeachment of the President had been taken the week before the convention met, and as several Republican senators had voted for acquittal on the eleventh article, which had been taken for a test, some of the more radical and impulsive delegates were in favor of expressing decided condemnation of the act which had rendered the removal of the President impossible. But in spite of the vehemence of the more hot-headed members of the party, the proposed action was defeated, and the convention contented itself with expressing the opinion that those who voted for conviction were in the right. There was a long list of candidates for the nomination for Vice-President. There was Mr. Hamlin, who had been left off the ticket four years before in order to give a representation to the loyalty of the South; Mr. B. F. Wade, senator from Ohio, who was President of the Senate during a part of the time that the war between the President and Congress was waging; Mr. Colfax, the speaker of the House of Representatives; Senators Fenton of New York, and Wilson of Massachusetts, Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania, and other candidates of less prominence.

Prior to the meeting of the National Convention of the Republicans, a convention of soldiers and sailors was held at Chicago. It was presided over by General John A. Logan, and was full of enthusiasm for General Grant. The Republican Convention met on May 20, at Chicago, and completed its work in two days. General Carl Schurz was the temporary presiding officer, and General Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut was made permanent president. The first day was occupied with preliminaries. On the

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of the second day the Committee on Resolutions a platform, which was adopted. Two additional were afterwards appended to the platform, then moved from the floor by Mr. Schurz, and finally approved. The platform in full was as

national Republican party of the United States, assembled in convention in the city of Chicago, on the twenty-first of August, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:—
Congratulate the country on the assured success of the Union policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption, in all the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions guaranteeing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the Government to sustain those institutions and to prevent the rebel States from being remitted to a state of anarchy.
The guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men in the rebel States was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of peace, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.

Denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and

with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

8. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; who has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws; who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, the liberty and life of the citizen; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five Senators.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States as a relic of feudal times, not authorized by the laws of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship, as though they were native born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and, if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more special honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise and imperilled their lives in the service of the country; the bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people, — a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

11. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development, and resources, and increase of power to this Republic, — the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, — should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

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The convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed peoples struggling for their rights.

It highly commends the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance which men who have served in the rebellion, but who are ready and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern State governments upon a basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon them in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out. Peace may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

We recognize the great principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of our government; and we hail with gladness every effort to make these principles a living reality on every inch of our soil.

When the convention was ready to proceed with its business, General Logan presented the name of General Grant in a brief but stirring speech, and the roll of delegates being called, every vote — 850 in all — was cast for him. While the enthusiasm of the convention was at its height, a large portrait of General Grant was placed behind the President's chair, and the delegates

The nomination of Mr. Colfax, the youngest candidate of all, was made unanimous, and the convention adjourned.

The Democrats were summoned to meet at Tammany Hall, New York, on the fourth of July; and Democratic soldiers and sailors were summoned to meet on the same day, also in New York. The interest centred wholly in the nomination of a candidate for the presidency, and it was from the first a contest of "the field" against Mr. Pendleton. Other candidates had strong supporters. The sentiment in the soldiers' convention was all in favor of General W. S. Hancock, who commended himself to those who had favored the war by his own gallant services, and to Democrats by his action as military commander at New Orleans during Mr. Johnson's administration. The Southern delegations were for Mr. Johnson himself, at least outwardly. There was an undercurrent in favor of Chief Justice Chase, who was openly charged by Republicans with having bid for the nomination. But most of the delegates from the Eastern States were chosen without instructions, and were prepared to support any candidate, except perhaps Mr. Pendleton, who seemed to have a chance of success.

Meantime, the Northwest was strong for Mr. Pendleton, though, as the event proved, the feeling was not very deep. A day or two before the convention a body of three hundred men — the "Pendleton Escort" — arrived from Ohio and marched through New York, each man wearing, pinned to his breast, a flag on which was a representation of a five-dollar greenback, and an inscription demanding the payment of the five-twenty bonds in that currency.

The fourth of July was Saturday. The convention organized by the choice of ex-Governor John M. Palmer

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as temporary chairman, and afterward Horatio of New York was made permanent president. The convention was from the first extremely suspicious of Wendleton men. A motion that the rules of the National House of Representatives be the rules of the convention was offered, and voted down because it was proposed by an Ohio man, and because of a fear it might mean an abrogation of the two-thirds rule. The latter rule was, however, adopted without dissent.

On the first day the supporters of Mr. Wendleton were in favor of prompt work, that a ballot be taken before their opponents could have an opportunity to concentrate; but they were defeated, and the convention adjourned until Monday. Afterward the Wendleton men were in favor of all possible delay, and on Tuesday they "filibustered" to retard the progress of the convention. It was not until Tuesday that the committee on resolutions was ready to report. The platform was promptly reported and unanimously adopted, as fol-

so much as is requisite for the necessities of the government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment, and where the obligations of the government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States.

4. Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including government bonds and other public securities.

5. One currency for the government and the people, the laborer and the officeholder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder.

6. Economy in the administration of the government; the reduction of the standing army and navy; the abolition of the freedmen's bureau, and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy; simplification of the system, and discontinuance of inquisitorial modes of assessing and collecting internal revenue, so that the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessened; the credit of the government and the currency made good; the repeal of all enactments for enrolling the State militia into national forces in time of peace; and a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the internal revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufacturers, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon, and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country.

7. Reform of abuses in the administration, the expulsion of corrupt men from office, the abrogation of useless offices, the restoration of rightful authority to, and the independence of, the executive and judicial departments of the government, the subordination of the military to the civil power, to the end that the usurpations of Congress and the despotism of the sword may cease.

8. Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens, at home and abroad; the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers, and furnish an example and encouragement to peoples struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty, and individual rights, and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance, and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crime committed beyond their jurisdiction.

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manding these measures and reforms, we arraign the Radical for its disregard of right, and the unparalleled oppression and which have marked its career.

the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both Houses of to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of government and the preservation of the Union under the Constitution, it has repeatedly violated that most sacred pledge under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army which carried to victory. Instead of restoring the Union it has, so far as power, dissolved it, and subjected ten States, in the time of peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the *habeas* that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the of speech and the press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures, arrests, and military trials and secret star-chamber inquiries for the constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded, in time, the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and without any specific charge or notice or affidavit, as required by organic law; it has converted the American capitol into a court; it has established a system of spies and official espionage; no constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to do what it has abolished the right of appeal, on important constitutional questions, to the supreme judicial tribunals, and threat-

privilege and trust of suffrage have belonged to the several States, and have been granted, regulated, and controlled exclusively by the political power of each State respectively, and that any attempt by Congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any State of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power, which can find no warrant in the Constitution, and, if sanctioned by the people, will subvert our form of government, and can only end in a single centralized and consolidated government, in which the separate existence of the States will be entirely absorbed, and unqualified despotism be established in place of a federal union of coequal States. And that we regard the Reconstruction Acts (so-called) of Congress, as such, as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void.

That our soldiers and sailors, who carried the flag of our country to victory against a most gallant and determined foe, must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the pre-emption or homestead lands, or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the government. When grants of the public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves, should be so applied.

That the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, in exercising the powers of his high office in resisting the aggressions of Congress upon the constitutional rights of the States and the people, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people, and in behalf of the Democratic party we tender him our thanks for his patriotic efforts in that regard.

Upon this platform the Democratic party appeal to every patriot, including all the conservative element and all who desire to support the Constitution and restore the Union, forgetting all past differences of opinion, to unite with us in the present great struggle for the liberties of the people; and that to all such, to whatever party they may have heretofore belonged, we extend the right hand of fellowship, and hail all such co-operating with us as friends and brethren.

To this platform two additional resolutions were subsequently appended, on motion, as follows: —

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7. That this convention sympathize cordially with the men of the United States in their efforts to protect the interests of the laboring classes of the country.

8. That the thanks of the convention are tendered to Justice Salmon P. Chase, for the justice, dignity, and impartiality which he presided over the court of impeachment on President Andrew Johnson.

for a candidate then began, and continued until

The whole number of votes—each delegate gave half a vote—was 317, and 212, two thirds of the votes, were necessary to a choice. A few only of the separate trials are necessary to show the increase and decrease of strength of the respective candidates.

	1st.	5th.	10th.	15th.	19th.	21st.
Endleton of Ohio	105	158½	107½	56½	-	-
son of Tennessee	65	6	5½	10	-	5
Hancock of Pennsylvania, .	33½	28	113½	144½	135½	125½
Church of New York . . .	23	-	-	-	-	-
of Pennsylvania	26	26	-	-	23	-
of New Jersey	13	7	7	3½	-	-
lish of Connecticut . . .	10	6	-	-	6	19
ttle of Wisconsin	13	12	12	12	12	12
endricks of Indiana . . .	2½	75	70½	87	107½	122
ase of Ohio	-	-	-	8½	23	12½
.	9	½	-	8½	23	12½

apparently narrowed down to Hancock and Hendricks, neither of whom was acceptable to New York. At this point a sensation was created, when the twenty-second vote had progressed through a few States, by a member giving some votes to Horatio Seymour, the president of the convention. Mr. Seymour promptly refused to be a candidate, but there was a hurried consultation, and the vote was persisted in. More votes were given to Seymour, and a "stampede" began. Mr. Seymour withdrew from the chair, and the changes of votes went on, amid the greatest excitement and enthusiasm, until he was made the nominee of the convention by 817 votes,—all the convention was capable of casting. It was asserted then, as it has been on every other occasion of a nomination suddenly made, after a long contest, from that of Mr. Polk in 1844 to that of General Garfield in 1880, that the whole affair was carefully planned and rehearsed beforehand. But if it was so in 1868, and not a line of evidence was ever adduced to prove it, only a few persons could have been in the secret, and the enthusiasm of the delegates was genuine and sincere.

General Francis P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, was nominated unanimously for Vice President at the first trial. Mr. Blair had just brought himself into prominence by a violent, not to say a revolutionary letter, addressed to Col. J. O. Brodhead, dated a few days before the Convention met, and the nomination seemed to be, and probably was, a result of that letter.

The canvass was shorter than usual, and, although one-sided, was decidedly interesting. The fame of General Grant, and the high regard in which he was held, did not allow the result to be doubtful, but there were already some noteworthy defections from the Republican party at the North, on account of the radical character of its Southern legislation, and a new element of discord in

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appeared, in the shape of the movement already to, to pay the five-twenty bonds in greenbacks. It was never seriously believed that Governor was in favor of that measure, he "stood upon form," and declared, in accepting the nomination, resolutions "are in accord with my views." Theicans made much of the virtual repudiation which financial policy as the resolutions demanded would and, while they lost some votes of a certain class, gained many others which were better worth having, they did not count any more. Toward the end of there was a very strong movement by business to defeat the Democrats, and it contributed not to the overwhelming success of General Grant. South was secure for the Republicans. Reconstruction with negro suffrage, protected by the general government, and with extensive disfranchisement of those who joined in the rebellion, made the triumph of the Republican electoral ticket a certainty. Only Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Louisiana, of all the Southern States, gave Governor Seymour a majority; but some of

still not complete uniformity. The electoral and popular votes of the States, including Georgia, were as follows:—

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.		ELECTORAL VOTE.	
	Grant.	Seymour,	Grant.	Seymour.
Maine	70,426	42,896	7	—
New Hampshire	88,191	81,224	5	—
Vermont	44,167	12,045	5	—
Massachusetts	186,477	59,408	12	—
Rhode Island	12,993	6,548	4	—
Connecticut	50,641	47,600	6	—
New York	419,883	429,883	—	83
New Jersey	80,121	83,001	—	7
Pennsylvania	342,280	313,882	26	—
Delaware	7,623	10,980	—	3
Maryland	80,488	62,857	—	7
Virginia*	—	—	—	—
West Virginia	29,025	20,306	5	—
North Carolina	96,226	84,090	9	—
South Carolina	62,801	45,237	6	—
Georgia	57,134	102,822	—	9
Florida†	—	—	8	—
Alabama	76,366	72,086	8	—
Mississippi*	—	—	—	—
Louisiana	33,263	80,225	—	7
Texas*	—	—	—	—
Arkansas	22,152	19,078	5	—
Missouri	85,671	59,788	11	—
Tennessee	56,757	26,311	10	—
Kentucky	39,566	115,889	—	11
Ohio	280,128	288,700	21	—
Michigan	128,550	97,069	8	—
Indiana	176,552	166,980	18	—
Illinois	250,293	199,143	16	—
Wisconsin	108,857	84,710	8	—
Minnesota	43,542	28,072	4	—
Iowa	120,899	74,040	8	—
Nebraska	9,729	5,439	8	—
Kansas	81,049	14,019	8	—
Nevada	6,480	5,218	3	—
California	54,592	54,078	5	—
Oregon	10,961	11,125	—	8
Totals	3,012,833	2,703,249	214	80

* No vote.

† By Legislature.

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were many charges of gross frauds in the election, aside from those alleged in the Southern States, the most famous case was that of New York. At the election took place, the "Tweed Ring" was in power; and some telegrams which the Republicans as highly suspicious passed between members of Democratic State Central Committee and certain politicians. It will be observed that the vote counted gave a majority of exactly ten thousand to the Republican. This result, it was believed by many, was brought about intentionally, with a view to throw large wagers upon the Democratic majority in New York.

Attention has already been made to the fact that some of the Southern States were, while others according to the action of Congress were not, entitled to vote for President and Vice-President. Congress had passed a joint resolution declaring that none of the States in rebellion should be entitled to electoral votes until the time prescribed for the election, such State should have a constitution since the 4th of March, 1867,

complied with the terms of the act authorizing a representation of that State in Congress was in dispute. Accordingly, on the 6th of February, 1869, two days before the count of electoral votes was to take place, Mr. Edmunds of Vermont introduced in the Senate a concurrent resolution, which does not require the approval of the President, in the following terms:—

Whereas, The question whether the State of Georgia has become and is entitled to representation in the two Houses of Congress is now pending and undetermined; and whereas by the joint resolution of Congress, passed July 20, 1868, entitled “resolution excluding from the Electoral College votes of States lately in rebellion which shall not have been reorganized,” it was provided that no electoral votes from any of the States lately in rebellion should be received or counted for President or Vice-President of the United States until, among other things, such State should have become entitled to representation in Congress pursuant to acts of Congress in that behalf; therefore

Resolved, etc., That, on the assembling of the two Houses on the second Wednesday of February, 1869, for the counting of the electoral votes for President and Vice-President, as provided by law and the joint rules, if the counting or omitting to count the electoral votes, if any, which may be presented as of the State of Georgia, shall not essentially change the result, in that case they shall be reported by the President of the Senate in the following manner: Were the votes presented as of the State of Georgia to be counted, the result would be, for — for President of the United States — votes; if not counted, for — for President of the United States — votes; but, in either case, — is elected President of the United States; and in the same manner for Vice-President.

Mr. Hendricks of Indiana was the only senator who took an active part in the debate against this resolution, although Mr. Trumbull of Illinois expressed the opinion that it would be best to count the vote of Georgia and say nothing about it, and finally voted (alone among the Republicans) against the resolution. It was passed by

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use of Representatives on the same day under a
on of the rules. It is worth noting that three of
idates on presidential tickets in 1884—Messrs.
Logan, and Butler—voted in the affirmative in
use on the passage of this resolution, while a
—Mr. Hendricks—voted against it in the Senate.
ount of the electoral votes took place on the 10th
uary. It proceeded regularly until the votes of
ea were presented, when a member from Tennes-
ected to them, under the twenty-second joint rule
e 250), and the two Houses separated to consider
ster. Although no debate was in order, a great
time was consumed by the Senate in agreeing
orm in which the decision of the question should
In the end the Senate voted to admit the votes
o 7. The House promptly decided the question
e way by 187 to 63. The count was then re-
and all the votes were opened and recorded,
those of Georgia. On the presentation of the
that State, General Butler of Massachusetts arose
ted in writing to them on four distinct grounds:

The House of Representatives quickly decided, without debate, — 150 to 41, — that the vote of Georgia should not be counted. In the Senate there was a long and somewhat ungoverned discussion. Mr. Wade explained that the reason why he had yielded his first position in the joint meeting was that two of Mr. Butler's objections were not of the kind contemplated by the concurrent resolution directing how the votes of Georgia should be declared. A great many propositions were made, and at last the Senate voted, by 28 votes against 25, "that, under the special order of the two Houses respecting the electoral vote from the State of Georgia, the objections made to the counting of the vote of the electors for the State of Georgia are not in order." The action of each House having been communicated to the other, the Senate returned to the Representatives' Hall. Then ensued one of the most remarkable and disgraceful scenes ever enacted in Congress. Mr. Wade, on taking the chair, remarked that the objections of the gentleman from Massachusetts had been overruled by the Senate, and that the vote would be announced according to the terms of the concurrent resolution. General Butler said that the House had sustained the objections, and proposed to offer a resolution, remarking, "I do not understand that we are to be overruled by the Senate in that way." The President of the Senate refused to entertain the resolution, and General Butler appealed from the decision of the chair. The President declined to entertain the appeal. A scene of indescribable disorder and confusion followed, several members speaking at once, Mr. Butler distinguishing himself by the violence of his language, and, as General Garfield said, in the debate which followed the joint meeting, by "a manner and bearing of unparalleled insolence." Some of his remarks

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mitted in the revision of them, which appears in the Congressional Globe;" but they were referred to in the report just mentioned. The last remark he made, as is thus reported:—

BUTLER of Massachusetts: I move that this convention be dissolved, and that the Senate have leave to retire. [Cries of "Order!" "Order!"] And on that motion I carried the vote. [Cries of "Order!" "Order!" from various parts of the hall.] We certainly have the right to clear the hall of members.

The presiding officer, not noticing these interruptions, proceeded to sum up the result, as directed by the convention's resolution, and declared Grant and Colfax elected. The Senate then retired.

When as the House was by itself, Mr. Butler rose to a question of privilege, and offered a resolution that "the House do protest that the counting of the vote of Georgia by the order of the Vice-President *pro tempore* was a gross act of oppression and an invasion of the rights and privileges of the House." Upon this resolution a long and animated debate took place, which lasted

ceived with derision by many Republican members, who all declared that it was not possible for one House to rescind a joint rule. But eight years later the Senate rescinded the same rule, and refused to be bound by it, although the House was then in favor of acting under it. General Butler's resolution, greatly toned down, and providing for the reference of the subject to a select committee, was at last brought to a vote, on a motion to lay it on the table, which was carried by 130 to 55, and the matter was dropped.

THE reconstruction of the Southern States was substantially completed before the term of President Johnson began. It only remained for the Southern States to comply with the conditions of Reconstruction. This they did soon afterward, and the Forty-first Congress was accomplished, and the Union fully represented. But the question of the rights of the colored people was not yet settled. The Constitution admitted States contained guaranties of the right of people to vote without reference to their previous condition of servitude; but, in the South, the political and social rights of the colored people were much restricted. A state of terrorism prevailed in parts of the South, where a secret organization, the Ku-Klux-Klan, committed outrages upon the colored people, intended to intimidate them and prevent them from voting. To defeat the schemes of the Ku-Klux-Klan, and to deavore by lawless acts to render the Reconstruction Congress nugatory, the act for the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, known as the Ku-Klux Act, was passed, although it seemed necessary at the time.

State governments, and the internal condition of some districts was sadly disturbed.

Beside the Southern question there were others which now began to assume political importance. The first act signed by President Grant pledged the faith of the government to the payment of the interest-bearing bonds of the United States in coin, and to an early resumption of specie payments. For the time being, the Opposition confined their attacks upon the financial system to the national banks. The annexation of San Domingo to the United States was a favorite scheme with the President, and he did all that was in his power, both publicly and privately, to accomplish it. In the course of his negotiations to that end, and by other measures, he alienated the support of Mr. Sumner and of Horace Greeley, whose standing as Republicans and as public men was almost unique, and whose adhesion to the Opposition in the ensuing canvass was deemed at the time to be most disastrous to the Republicans. There was another issue, which had its origin at this time, which has since played an important part in congressional and presidential elections. The principle tersely expressed by Mr. Marcy to justify the wholesale removals from office practised by General Jackson, that "to the victors belong the spoils of the enemy," had been adopted by every Democratic and Opposition administration which followed that of Jackson. On the accession of Mr. Lincoln, the Democratic officers were driven out and Republicans took their places, in every department of the government, from the foreign minister to the country postmaster. Mr. Johnson had been restrained from substituting Democrats for them all only by the tenure-of-office act. General Grant found few Democrats to expel from public positions; but an evil, which had grown up with that of a partisan civil

the State election. It was further developed the next year. Meetings were held in St. Louis and Cincinnati in the spring, in which opposition to the re-election of General Grant was freely expressed, for even then it was assumed that he would expect to be nominated for re-election. About the same time Mr. Vallandigham of Ohio, who had been identified with the most extreme form of Democratic opposition to the war for the Union, and had been equally radical in his condemnation of Republican reconstruction and treatment of the South, presented and supported in a local caucus in Ohio a series of resolutions looking to a union of all elements of opposition on the basis of a full acceptance of the results of the war, the legislation already enacted, and the three amendments made to the constitution. Finally, at a mass meeting of Liberal Republicans of Missouri, held at Jefferson City in January, 1872, in which nearly all the counties of the State were represented, it was voted to call a national convention of Liberal Republicans, to be held at Cincinnati on the first of May.

The first conventions for making nominations for the Presidency were held at Columbus, Ohio, in February. The Labor Reformers met on the twenty-first of that month, with representatives present from seventeen States. Edwin M. Chamberlin of Massachusetts was the permanent presiding officer. The convention was in session two days, and adopted the following platform : —

We hold that all political power is inherent in the people, and free government is founded on their authority and established for their benefit ; that all citizens are equal in political rights, entitled to the largest religious and political liberty compatible with the good order of society, as also to the use and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor and talents; and no man or set of men is entitled to exclusive separable endowments and privileges, or immunities from the government, but in consideration of public services; and any

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destructive of these fundamental principles are without moral force, and should be repealed. And believing that all the suffering from unjust legislation now affecting the industrial classes can be removed by the adoption of the principles contained in the following declaration, therefore,

1. That it is the duty of the government to establish a standard of distribution of capital and labor by providing a national circulating medium, based on the faith and credit of the nation, issued directly to the people without the sanction of any system of banking corporations; which money shall be legal tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and exchangeable at the option of the holder for government bonds bearing a rate of interest not to exceed 3.65 per cent, subject to legislation by Congress.

2. That the national debt should be paid in good faith, according to the original contract, at the earliest option of the government, without mortgaging the property of the people or the future earnings of the laborer, to enrich a few capitalists at home and abroad.

3. That justice demands that the burdens of government should be distributed as to bear equally on all classes, and that the exemption of government bonds bearing extortionate rates from taxation is a violation of all just principles of revenue laws.

4. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the

corporations, contracting with the State, shall conform to the reduced standard of eight hours a day, recently adopted by Congress for national employes, and also for an amendment to the acts of incorporation for cities and towns, by which all laborers and mechanics employed at their expense shall conform to the same number of hours.

8. That the enlightened spirit of the age demands the abolition of the system of contract labor in our prisons and other reformatory institutions.

9. That the protection of life, liberty, and property are the three cardinal principles of government, and the first two are more sacred than the latter; therefore money needed for prosecuting wars should, as it is required, be assessed and collected from the wealth of the country, and not entailed as a burden upon posterity.

10. That it is the duty of the government to exercise its power over railroads and telegraph corporations, that they shall not in any case be privileged to exact such rates of freight, transportation, or charges, by whatever name, as may bear unduly or unequally upon the producer or consumer.

11. That there should be such a reform in the civil service of the national government as will remove it beyond all partisan influence, and place it in the charge and under the direction of intelligent and competent business men.

12. That as both history and experience teach us that power ever seeks to perpetuate itself by every and all means, and that its prolonged possession in the hands of one person is always dangerous to the interests of a free people, and believing that the spirit of our organic laws and the stability and safety of our free institutions are best obeyed on the one hand, and secured on the other, by a regular constitutional change in the chief of the country at each election; therefore, we are in favor of limiting the occupancy of the presidential chair to one term.

13. That we are in favor of granting general amnesty and restoring the Union at once on the basis of equality of rights and privileges to all, the impartial administration of justice being the only true bond of union to bind the States together and restore the government of the people.

14. That we demand the subjection of the military to the civil authorities, and the confinement of its operations to national purposes alone.

15. That we deem it expedient for Congress to supervise the

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so as to give labor more fully the benefit of its own conventions.

fitness, and not political or personal considerations, the only recommendation to public office, either appointive or elective, and any and all laws looking to the establishment of this principle are heartily approved.

formal and three formal ballots were required to the nomination of a candidate for President. These ballots were as follows:—

	Informal.	1st.	2d.	3d.
Leary of Penn. . . .	60	—	—	—
Day of New York . .	59	21	59	■
of Illinois	47	88	93	201
Phillips of Mass. . .	■	76	■	—
er of Illinois	8	—	—	—
r of New Jersey. . .	7	7	7	7
Julian of Indiana . .	6	1	5	—
rown of Missouri . .	—	—	14	—
eeley of New York. .	—	—	11	—

first vote for a candidate for Vice-President,

hoped that the united Opposition would take up with this ticket. Judge Davis sent a non-committal despatch to the convention, thanking it for the honor without accepting the nomination. In June both he and Judge Parker formally declined. The convention was called together again, but only a small number of delegates attended. Charles O'Connor of New York was nominated for President, and no nomination was made for the second place on the ticket.

The Prohibitionists met at Columbus on February 22, with 194 delegates present, from nine States. Samuel Chase of Ohio was the President. A very long platform was reported and adopted by the convention, of which the newspapers of the day give but a brief abstract. In addition to a declaration in favor of the main principle of the party, — the legislative prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquor, — the resolutions declare that sobriety is one of the main qualifications for a public officer; that officers should not be removed for political reasons; that public servants should be paid fixed salaries, and not by fees; that all possible measures should be adopted to prevent corruption in the government; that Congress should pass laws which will secure a sound national currency convertible at the will of the holder into gold and silver coin; that the rates of inland and ocean postage, and the charges for transportation by railway and water conveyances, and for communication by telegraph, should be as low as possible; that there should be no discrimination in favor of capital against labor; that monopoly and class legislation are evils; that the right of suffrage should be conferred without regard to sex; that the common-school system should be fostered; and that all judicious means should be employed to promote immigration.

The names of James Black of Pennsylvania, as a can-

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President, and of John Russell of Michigan for
President, were presented by a committee on nomi-
nation and accepted by acclamation by the convention.
The National Republican convention attracted a great
attention, and caused not a little uneasiness in ad-
vancing the friends of the administration. It was
felt that the Democrats were ready to take up with
candidates whom the dissatisfied Republicans
condemned. Suggestions were numerous, but unity
there was not. Some of the most influential
and newspapers which supported the move-
ment strongly in favor of a free-trade policy; Mr.
and his "Tribune" being almost the only conspic-
uous ones. Of candidates there was a full supply.
Furnished no less than three,—Judge David
Governor John M. Palmer, and Senator Lyman
Missouri brought forward her favorite son,
Brown. Ohio suggested ex-Secretary Jacob D.
Chief Justice Chase was not forgotten. The
most spoken of at the East was Mr. Charles

ated many who might have supported him, his nomination was urgently pressed by his friends upon the assembling members of the convention. But on the other hand some of the most influential Democrats in Congress and elsewhere sent word that, should Mr. Adams be nominated, they would oppose the acceptance of the Cincinnati ticket by the Democratic convention. As the Liberal Republicans felt confident that, with the assistance of the Democrats, victory was assured, the several cliques made great exertions to secure the nominations for their respective favorites.

The convention was a mass meeting. Except in a few places the Liberal Republicans had no organization, and the members were all volunteers. Mr. Stanley Matthews of Ohio was made temporary chairman. The question of membership was a puzzling one, certain States having but a small, and others a very large, number of representatives, while in the case of New York there were two distinct and opposing factions. It was finally determined that the membership should be on the basis of two delegates for each senator and representative to which a State was entitled; that if a smaller number of members were present from any State, they should be allowed to cast the full vote of the State; and that delegations too numerous should meet and designate the delegates; and the New York quarrel was composed. The organization was completed by the choice of Carl Schurz of Missouri as permanent president. Although the free-traders were a majority of the convention, the importance of uniting all who were opposed to General Grant was recognized, and greatly to the chagrin of the very earnest advocates of free trade, a resolution on the subject of the tariff, which had been sent on by Mr. Greeley, was adopted. The convention issued an address to the people of the country and a platform of principles, which are given in full:—

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administration now in power has rendered itself guilty of disregard of the laws of the land, and of usurping powers granted by the Constitution; it has acted as if the laws had force only for those who were governed, and not for those who govern. It has thus struck a blow at the fundamental principles of constitutional government and the liberties of the citizen. The President of the United States has openly used the powers and opportunities of his high office for the promotion of personal

has kept notoriously corrupt and unworthy men in places of power and responsibility, to the detriment of the public interest.

has used the public service of the government as a machinery of patronage and personal influence, and has interfered with tyrannical arrogance in the political affairs of States and municipalities.

has rewarded with influential and lucrative offices men who acquired his favor by valuable presents, thus stimulating the corruption of our political life by his conspicuous example.

has shown himself deplorably unequal to the task imposed upon him by the necessities of the country, and culpably careless of the responsibilities of his high office.

partisans of the administration, assuming to be the Republic's party and controlling its organization, have attempted to perpetrate such wrongs and palliate such abuses to the end of main-
partisan ascendancy.

have stood in the way of necessary investigations and indis-

They are striving to maintain themselves in authority for selfish ends by an unscrupulous use of the power which rightfully belongs to the people, and should be employed only in the service of the country.

Believing that an organization thus led and controlled can no longer be of service to the best interests of the Republic, we have resolved to make an independent appeal to the sober judgment, conscience, and patriotism of the American people.

We, the Liberal Republicans of the United States, in national convention assembled at Cincinnati, proclaim the following principles as essential to just government:—

1. We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the union of these States, emancipation, and enfranchisement, and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution.

3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

4. Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and the freedom of the person under the protection of the *habeas corpus*. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order, for the State self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

5. The civil service of the government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions, and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of republican government. We therefore regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity and fidelity constitute the only valid claims to public employment; that the offices of the government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and that public station shall become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for re-election.

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demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unduly interfere with the industry of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the government economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof, and recognizing that there are in our midst honest but widely different differences of opinion with regard to the respective merits of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the same to the people in their congressional districts and the decision is thereon, wholly free from executive interference or

the public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce any and every mediation in every form and guise.

A speedy return to specie payments is demanded alike by the considerations of commercial morality and honest govern-

We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the brave men and sailors of the Republic, and no act of ours shall ever diminish their justly earned fame or the full rewards of their

We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to the people.

We hold that it is the duty of the government in its intercourse with foreign nations to cultivate the friendships of peace by

Before the result of the sixth trial was announced, members began to change their votes, and when these changes had been made the result stood, for Greeley 482, for Adams 187. On a motion that the nomination of Mr. Greeley be made unanimous, the negative votes were numerous. Two votes only were required to effect a nomination of a candidate for Vice-President. They were as follows:—

	1st.	2d.
B. Gratz Brown, Missouri	237	435
Lyman Trumbull, Illinois	158	175
George W. Julian, Indiana	134	—
Gilbert O. Walker, Virginia	84	75
Cassius M. Clay, Kentucky	34	—
Jacob D. Cox, Ohio	25	—
John M. Scoville, New Jersey	12	—
Thomas W. Tipton, Nebraska	8	8
John M. Palmer, Illinois	—	8

The nomination of Mr. Brown was then made unanimous, and the convention adjourned. Its work was received by Republicans throughout the country with a shout of derision. Greatly as Mr. Greeley was esteemed for his sincerity and respected for his ability, he had always been regarded as an erratic man, and there were few persons who credited him with the cool judgment and tact needed in a President. But the cry of “anybody to beat Grant” had been raised, and it very soon became evident that, although many members of the Cincinnati convention were chagrined at the failure, as they regarded it, to present acceptable candidates, and although a great many Democrats hardly concealed their disappointment, the Democratic convention would adopt both the platform and the candidates of that convention. The Tennessee Democratic convention, held the week after Greeley and Brown had been nominated, instructed its delegates to the Baltimore convention to support that ticket. The New York Democrats did the same thing a week or two later,

citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offences, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased with firm hand the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific Railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizens' rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite annual large reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year. Great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not entrust the government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the National Constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be entrusted only to the party that secured these amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and Federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

4. The national government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of the civil service under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party

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ly demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public office, without practically creating a life-tenure of office.

are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, paying the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate sum for the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except what may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the country.

hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose blood was shed for the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the Government to the widows and orphans of those who died for their country, and are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the Government to all soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who, in the line of duty, became disabled, without regard to the length of service or cause of such discharge.

doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers in regard to allegiance — "Once a subject always a subject" —

an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box; and therefore they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider spheres of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the States and to the Federal government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interference with the rights not surrendered by the people to either the State or the National government.

17. It is the duty of the General government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and ship-building.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people, and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice-Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator, and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

General Grant was nominated by the unanimous vote of all the delegates, amid great enthusiasm. A single

had gone too far to recede. The convention opened in Baltimore, on July 9. Mr. Thomas Jefferson of Virginia was the temporary, and Mr. James A. Smith of Wisconsin the permanent, president. The resolutions reported the Cincinnati platform change. Its acceptance was strongly opposed by Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware, but it was adopted by a vote of 670 to 62. It was to nominate candidates by acclamation, but to elect as usual. Mr. Greeley received 686 votes, Horace Black of Pennsylvania 21, Thomas F. Bayard 16, William S. Groesbeck of Ohio 2, and the rest cast blank. Mr. Greeley was thus nominated more than the necessary two thirds. On a ballot for Vice-President, Mr. Brown received 13 votes, and W. Stevenson of Kentucky 6, and 13 votes.

Although this result of the convention was generally expected, there was great dissatisfaction in many Democratic circles. Some members were outspoken in their objection to what was regarded as a cowardly surrender of principle for a possible victory. Others said little, but it

movement found expression in a call for a straight Democratic convention which was held at Louisville, Kentucky, on September 8, and was quite well attended. Mr. James Lyon of Virginia was the President. The following resolutions were adopted : —

Whereas, A frequent recurrence to first principles, and eternal vigilance against abuses, are the wisest provisions for liberty, which is the source of progress, and fidelity to our constitutional system is the only protection for either; therefore,

Resolved, That the original basis of our whole political structure is a consent in every part thereof. The people of each State voluntarily created their State, and the States voluntarily formed the Union; and each State has provided, by its written Constitution, for everything a State should do for the protection of life, liberty, and property within it; and each State, jointly with the others, provided a Federal Union for foreign and inter-State relations.

Resolved, That all government powers, whether State or Federal, are trust powers coming from the people of each State; and that they are limited to the written letter of the Constitution and the laws passed in pursuance of it, which powers must be exercised in the utmost good faith, the Constitution itself providing in what manner they may be altered and amended.

Resolved, That the interests of labor and capital should not be permitted to conflict, but should be harmonized by judicious legislation. While such a conflict continues, labor, which is the parent of wealth, is entitled to paramount consideration.

Resolved, That we proclaim to the world that principle is to be preferred to power; that the Democratic party is held together by the cohesion of time-honored principles which they will never surrender in exchange for all the offices which presidents can confer. The pangs of the minorities are doubtless excruciating; but we welcome an eternal minority under the banner inscribed with our principles, rather than an almighty and everlasting majority purchased by their abandonment.

Resolved, That, having been betrayed at Baltimore into a false creed and a false leadership by the convention, we repudiate both, and appeal to the people to approve our platform and to rally to the polls and support the true platform, and the candidates who embody it.

Resolved, That we are opposed to giving public lands to corporations, and favor their disposal to actual settlers only.

... he said that while he did not wish nation, he would not refuse it if Mr. O' head the ticket. Mr. O'Connor, on being n graph of his nomination, declined peren convention then hastily passed a vote n Lyon, the president of the convention, in Mr. Lyon wisely declined. Mr. Adams a take any but the second place, and not ev Mr. O'Connor were to stand at the head Under these circumstances, the conventio Mr. O'Connor, and left the ticket as it had b arranged, whether its candidates would acc

The result of the canvass was at no ti Some of the Democrats deluded themsel idea that there was a chance for Mr. Gree gentleman departed from the usual custom by going on the stump. But the result of t tions made the result certain; and Gener elected by a larger majority than he had re first election. As before, thirty-seven State Union; and on this occasion, for the first ti tory of the government, all the States of the electors by a popular vote. The annortio

STATES.	Grant.	Greeley.	O'Connor.	Black.
Maine	61,422	29,087	—	—
New Hampshire	87,168	81,424	100	200
Vermont	41,481	10,927	593	—
Massachusetts	183,472	59,260	—	—
Rhode Island	18,665	5,829	—	—
Connecticut	50,683	45,880	—	206
New York	440,736	337,281	1,454	201
New Jersey	91,656	76,466	—	—
Pennsylvania	349,589	212,041	—	1,630
Delaware	11,115	10,206	487	—
Maryland	66,760	67,687	19	—
Virginia	93,468	91,654	—	—
West Virginia	82,315	29,451	—	—
North Carolina	94,769	70,094	—	—
South Carolina	72,290	22,703	187	—
Georgia	62,550	76,356	4,000	—
Florida	17,763	15,427	—	—
Alabama	90,272	79,444	—	—
Mississippi	82,175	47,288	—	—
Louisiana*	71,663	57,029	—	—
Louisiana†	59,975	66,467	—	—
Texas	47,468	66,546	2,580	—
Arkansas	41,873	37,927	—	—
Missouri	119,196	151,434	2,439	—
Tennessee	85,655	94,891	—	—
Kentucky	88,766	99,996	2,374	—
Ohio	281,852	244,321	1,163	2,100
Michigan	188,455	78,855	2,861	1,271
Indiana	186,147	163,632	1,417	—
Illinois	241,944	184,638	8,058	—
Wisconsin	104,997	86,477	—	—
Minnesota	55,117	34,423	—	—
Iowa	181,566	71,196	2,221	—
Nebraska	18,329	7,812	—	—
Kansas	67,048	82,970	596	—
Nevada	8,418	6,286	—	—
California	54,020	40,718	1,068	—
Oregon	11,819	7,730	572	—
Totals	3,597,132	2,834,125	29,489	5,608

* "Custom house" count. The total vote of the country, as given above, includes these returns.

† Count by the Warmoth returning board. If these returns should be substituted for the others, the total vote of the country would be: for Grant, 3,585,444; Greeley, 2,845,562.

board," consisting of the Governor, L
Secretary of State, and two others. T
ernor and one of the unofficial membe
fied by being candidates for office. T
removed the Secretary of State and
man in his place; and he, with this r
ceeded to fill up the vacancies in the
But the old Secretary of State, before
the remaining unofficial member of the
ously filled the vacancies. Accordingl
returning boards. The official returns
only by that board of which the Govern
the other board made up returns from th
information it could command. Each boar
manipulated the figures so as to bring ab
sult. This is a very brief account of a l
cated controversy, full particulars of whi
in the newspapers and in official docume
Two sets of electors met, voted, and
returns to Washington; but the vote o
excluded, as will be noticed in the report
count. The votes of the electoral coll
cast, including both the —

STATES.	PRESIDENT.					VICE-PRESIDENT.									
	Ulysses S. Grant, Ill.	Thomas A. Hendricks, Ind.	B. Gratz Brown, Mo.	Horace Greeley, N. Y.	Charles J. Jenkins, Ga.	David Davis, Ill.	Henry Wilson, Mass.	B. Gratz Brown, Mo.	George W. Julian, Ind.	Alfred H. Colquitt, Ga.	John M. Palmer, Ill.	Thomas E. Bramlette, Ky.	Nathaniel P. Banks, Mass.	William S. Gresham, O.	Willis B. Macken, Ky.
Maine	1						1								
New Hampshire	3						3								
Vermont	3						3								
Massachusetts	13						13								
Rhode Island	4						4								
Connecticut	8						8								
New York	35						35								
New Jersey	9						9								
Pennsylvania	29						29								
Delaware	3						3								
Maryland	1	2					1	2							
Virginia	11						11								
West Virginia	5						5								
North Carolina	10						10								
South Carolina	7						7								
Georgia	1	2	2				1	2	2						
Florida	4						4								
Alabama	10						10								
Mississippi	8						8								
Louisiana	8						8								
Louisiana	1						1								
Texas	1	3					1	3							
Arkansas	5						5								
Missouri	1	3	2			1	1	3	2					1	
Tennessee	1	12					1	12							
Kentucky	1	4					1	4							
Ohio	23						23								
Michigan	11						11								
Indiana	15						15								
Illinois	21						21								
Wisconsin	10						10								
Minnesota	5						5								
Iowa	11						11								
Nebraska	3						3								
Kansas	3						3								
Nevada	3						3								
California	6						6								
Oregon	3						3								
Total (as declared)	286	42	18	-	2	1	286	47	8	5	3	3	1	1	1

HISTORY OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

Questions arose during the count of electoral votes which took place on Feb. 12, 1873, was conducted in accordance with the twenty-second joint rule, and lasted seven hours. The first objection was made by a Senator from Massachusetts to counting the three votes cast by Georgia for Horace Greeley, on the ground that Greeley was dead at the time the votes were given. This raised the question whether Congress might take notice of the ineligibility of a candidate for the presidency. The next objection was raised by Senator Potter of Illinois to the vote of Mississippi, on the ground that the certificates did not state that the electors voted by ballot. Mr. Potter of New York also objected to one vote of Mississippi, cast by an elector to fill a vacancy, the choice of whom was certified by the Secretary of State of Mississippi, and by him on the basis of information and not of his own knowledge. After these three objections the two Houses separated. The House of Representatives voted to reject the Greeley votes from Georgia; the Senate voted to accept them; under the result they were cast out and not counted. Each

ing Secretary of State, and not, as the law required, by the Governor. A second objection was made on the ground that only four of the eight electors (not a majority) had met and filled vacancies. Both objections were overruled by each House, and the vote of Texas was counted.

The count then proceeded until the only votes remaining were those of Arkansas and Louisiana. The votes of both States were objected to. The returns for Arkansas were certified to only by the Secretary of State, and his office seal was the only one which the papers bore. Both sets of electors for Louisiana were objected to. The two Houses having separated, the Senate passed a resolution that the votes of Arkansas should not be counted; the House of Representatives agreed to admit them. The vote in the Senate was a consequence of the bad rule that no debate should be allowed. In fact the only seal in use in the State was that of the Secretary of State; and the rejection of the vote was a hasty act upon the most frivolous of pretexts. Each House voted not to count any votes from Louisiana. The result of this action, under the twenty-second joint rule, was that the votes of Arkansas and Louisiana were excluded. The joint session of Congress was then resumed, and the result of the election was declared according to the totals in the table already given.

XXIV.

THE DISPUTED ELECTION.

of General Grant's second term which had an
upon the election of 1876 were, in addition to
ern question, the financial panic of 1873, which
at distress and led to the formation of a strong
arious sections of the country, but particularly
st, favoring an increase of the greenback cur-
its permanence as a standard of value; and the
of the public service, which, in the popular view
ter, if not as a matter of fact, was brought into
prominence by the revelation of official com-
the frauds of the "Whiskey Ring," and by the
of the transactions of General Belknap, Secre-
ar, who was impeached for his offences, but
ment by having resigned his office before

dissipate that impression altogether, though the presence and the acts of the "Confederate Brigadiers" in the House served to consolidate Republican strength to a certain extent.

At the beginning of the session of 1874-5, Senator Oliver P. Morton called up, and endeavored to secure action upon, several propositions which had for their object to remedy the constitutional defects which ninety years of experience had developed. The first of these was a proposition to amend the Constitution, the origin of which was this: Under a resolution offered by Mr. Morton in March, 1873, the Committee on Privileges and Elections, of which he was chairman, was directed to examine and report at the next session upon the best and most practicable mode of electing the President and Vice-President, and providing a tribunal to adjust and decide all contested questions connected therewith. The committee reported, May 28, 1874, a proposition to amend the Constitution by the adoption of the following new article:—

1. The President and Vice-President shall be elected by the direct vote of the people in the manner following: Each State shall be divided into districts, equal in number to the number of Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress, to be composed of contiguous territory, and to be as nearly equal in population as may be; and the person having the highest number of votes in each district for President shall receive the vote of that district, which shall count one presidential vote.

2. The person having the highest number of votes for President in a State shall receive two presidential votes from the State at large.

3. The person having the highest number of presidential votes in the United States shall be President.

4. If two persons have the same number of votes in any State, it being the highest number, they shall receive each one presidential vote from the State at large; and if more than two persons shall

establish tribunals for the decision of such elections tested.

7. The State shall be divided into districts thereof, but the Congress may at any time by the same.

The report which accompanied this project was of great ability and thoroughness. It was written by Senator Morton himself, who probably devoted much thought to this part of the Constitution. It had been given to it by any other statesman in our history. The resolution of amendment was passed in the Senate on the 20th of January, 1865. Mr. Morton made a long speech in favor of it, pointing out more in forcible language the evils and defects of the existing system. He maintained that the joint rule was grossly unconstitutional. Mr. Conkling, Mr. Anthony followed. Mr. Anthony maintained that some change was absolutely necessary. His general judgment was that the greatest danger was in the matter of the electoral count. Mr. Anthony said as to say that "all the machinery of the Constitution is absurd." But notwithstanding the opposition of the leaders of the Senate in the opinion that

the twenty-second joint rule be repealed. But he modified this resolution so that it would amend instead of repealing the rule, making an affirmative vote of both Houses necessary for the rejection of an electoral vote. A long debate took place upon this proposition, and the resolution was finally referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. The committee reported speedily a bill, which, if enacted, would take the place of the joint rule. For the most part it followed the language of that rule, but with these exceptions: no vote could be rejected except by the concurrent vote of the two Houses; if more than one return should be presented from a State, that one was to be accepted which the two Houses acting separately should determine to be the true return; and when the Houses separated to decide upon any objection, debate was to be allowed, each member being permitted to speak for ten minutes, once only, and when the debate had lasted two hours the House was to have the right, by a majority vote, to order the main question to be put. This bill was very fully debated, and numerous amendments were offered. None of these latter were adopted, except for the purpose of perfecting the language. The only important suggestion of amendment was made by Mr. Edmunds of Vermont, who proposed to substitute for the whole bill a plan for a joint committee, resembling the grand committee provided for in the bill of the year 1800 (see p. 17 *et seq.*). The bill was passed by a vote of 28 to 20. All the affirmative votes were given by Republicans, but six members of that party, including Senators Carpenter, Conkling, Edmunds, and Windom, voted against the bill. It was never taken up in the House of Representatives.

Mr. Morton was very much in earnest in regard to this matter. Immediately on the reassembling of Congress —

might come when it would be unfortunate to make a change at the end of eight years; and that he "would not accept a nomination if it were tendered, unless it should come under such circumstances as to make it an imperative duty — circumstances not likely to arise." The universal interpretation of these phrases was that General Grant's friends were at liberty to make it appear to be the imperative duty of the Republicans to nominate him again, and of the President to accept the nomination. But the idea made but little headway except among the officials of the government and the most devoted adherents of the President. There was, however, much apprehension that the close organization of the official class would make it possible to manipulate the primary meetings and secure his nomination. A death-blow to the movement was dealt soon after the opening of Congress, in December, 1875. A Democratic member from Illinois offered a resolution, "that, in the opinion of this House, the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States, in retiring from the presidential office after their second term, has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions." This resolution was passed by the immense majority of 234 to 18. Not only did all the Democrats present support it, but 70 out of the 88 Republicans voting were also found in the affirmative.

Nothing more was heard that year of the third term, and the Republicans who had been willing to entertain the idea turned their attention to other candidates, while the Republican leaders who had been special friends of the administration felt themselves at liberty to become candidates for the Republican nomination. There were many candi-

HISTORY OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

The favor of the administration was believed to come chiefly to Senator Conkling of New York; but there was no hostility to Senator Morton of Indiana, who had secured most of the Southern delegations. These gentlemen had been ardent defenders of the President whenever he had been attacked, and trustful supporters of all administration measures.

The strongest movement, outside of the official circles, was in favor of Mr. James G. Blaine of Maine. Mr. Blaine had been six years Speaker of the House of Representatives, and had gained extraordinary popularity among the members of Congress. At the beginning of the fourth Congress, in 1875, the control of the House had passed into the hands of the Democrats, he had become the natural leader of the minority on the floor, and had drawn the attention of the country by some brilliant parliamentary victories. Many Republicans, however, felt that in so doing he had revived memories of the South which they were entirely willing should be forgotten. He began to be talked of for the Republican nomination, and many of them felt constrained to express him. Soon

There was also a strong party in favor of Mr. Benjamin H. Bristow, the Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Bristow had won the high opinion of the country by his vigorous operations against the Western "whiskey rings." The heavy tax upon distilled spirit was a great temptation to fraud in its manufacture. Evidence was obtained that many Western distilleries were enabled by collusion with government officers to manufacture vast amounts of whiskey upon which no tax was paid. They secured a great profit, and this profit was divided between those who committed the frauds and those who permitted them. Certain persons very near the administration were implicated, or at least open to serious suspicion. The President directed that the prosecutions should be pressed with all vigor; but it was surmised, unjustly no doubt, that he was not so earnest in the work as his words implied that he was; and Mr. Bristow received most of the credit for the unrelenting vigor with which the prosecutions were carried to a successful issue. Accordingly he became the favorite candidate of those who were most opposed to what it was the fashion to call "Cæsarism" and "Grantism."

Ohio presented her governor, Rutherford B. Hayes, a general in the Union army during the war, formerly a member of Congress, and in 1876, for the third time, governor of Ohio. Governor John F. Hartranft of Pennsylvania and Mr. Marshall Jewell, who had been Governor of Connecticut, Minister to Russia, and Postmaster-General, were also candidates.

The leading candidate on the Democratic side was Governor Samuel J. Tilden of New York, but his supremacy was not undisputed. Mr. Hendricks of Indiana, who had received most of the votes of Democratic electors in 1872, after the death of Mr. Greeley, had very strong Western

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General Hancock was a favorite with the soldiers he had been in 1868. Ohio was in the field with Governor William Allen, who had carried the State in 1868. But as the State and district conventions made Mr. Hancock the leading candidate on the Republican side, so the Democrats placed Mr. Tilden far in advance of his competitors. Mr. Tilden had gained a high reputation by his warfare against the "Tweed ring" in New York some years before, and had added to it by his career as Governor of New York. But he was opposed most strongly by the Tammany organization in his own city, and this was deemed by many a sufficient reason why he should not be nominated. Such was the situation when the season of national conventions began, in May, 1876.

The first convention of the series was that of the Prohibitionists, which was held in Cleveland, Ohio, on the 17th of May.

This convention nominated for President, Green B. Smith of Kentucky, and for Vice-President, G. T. Venable of Ohio; and adopted the following platform:—

The Prohibition Reform party of the United States, organized for the purpose of the people to revive, enforce, and perpetuate in the

3. The appropriation of the public lands in limited quantities to actual settlers only; the reduction of the rates of inland and ocean postage; of telegraphic communication; of railroad and water transportation and travel to the lowest practicable point by force of law, wisely and justly framed, with reference not only to the interests of capital employed, but to the higher claims of the general good.

4. The suppression by law of lottery and gambling in gold, stocks, produce, and every form of money and property, and the penal inhibition of the use of the public mails for advertising schemes of gambling and lotteries.

5. The abolition of those foul enormities, polygamy and the social evil, and the protection of purity, peace, and happiness of homes by ample and efficient legislation.

6. The national observance of the Christian Sabbath, established by laws prohibiting ordinary labor and business in all departments of public service and private employment (works of necessity, charity, and religion excepted) on that day.

7. The establishment by mandatory provisions in national and State constitutions, and by all necessary legislation, of a system of free public schools for the universal and forced education of all the youth of the land.

8. The free use of the Bible, not as a ground of religious creeds, but as a text-book of the purest morality, the best liberty, and the noblest literature, in our public schools, that our children may grow up in its light, and that its spirit and principles may pervade the nation.

9. The separation of the government in all departments and institutions, including the public schools and all funds for their maintenance, from the control of every religious sect or other association, and the protection alike of all sects by equal laws, with entire freedom of religious faith and worship.

10. The introduction into all treaties hereafter negotiated with foreign governments of a provision for the amicable settlement of international difficulties by arbitration.

11. The abolition of all barbarous modes and instruments of punishment; the recognition of the laws of God and the claims of humanity in the discipline of jails and prisons, and of that higher and wiser civilization worthy of our age and nation, which regards the reform of criminals as a means for the prevention of crime.

12. The abolition of executive and legislative patronage, and

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tion of President, Vice-President, United States senators, all civil officers, so far as practicable, by the direct vote of the people.

The practice of a friendly and liberal policy to immigrants and foreigners, the guarantee to them of ample protection, and of equal rights and privileges.

The separation of the money of government from all banks and banks of issue. The national government only should exercise the prerogative of issuing paper money, and that should be convertible at prompt redemption on demand in gold and silver, the legal standards of value recognized by the civilized world.

The reduction of the salaries of public officers in a just ratio to the decline of wages and market prices, the abolition of sine-offices, unnecessary offices, and official fees and perquisites; the establishment of strict economy in government expenses, and a free and full investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public

On the 18th of May the Greenback, or Independent National party, held its convention at Indianapolis. Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota was the temporary, and J. Durant of Washington, D. C., the permanent secretary. Peter Cooper of New York was nominated for President, and Senator Newton

1. We demand the immediate and unconditional repeal of the specie-resumption act of January 14, 1875, and the rescue of our industries from ruin and disaster resulting from its enforcement; and we call upon all patriotic men to organize, in every congressional district of the country, with a view of electing representatives to Congress who will carry out the wishes of the people in this regard, and stop the present suicidal and destructive policy of contraction.

2. We believe that a United States note, issued directly by the government, and convertible on demand into United States obligations, bearing a rate of interest not exceeding one cent a day on each one hundred dollars, and exchangeable for United States notes at par, will afford the best circulating medium ever devised. Such United States notes should be full legal tender for all purposes except for the payment of such obligations as are, by existing contracts, especially made payable in coin, and we hold that it is the duty of the government to provide such circulating medium, and insist, in the language of Thomas Jefferson, that bank paper must be suppressed, and the circulation restored to the nation, to whom it belongs.

3. It is the paramount duty of the government, in all its legislation, to keep in view the full development of all legitimate business, agricultural, mining, manufacturing, and commercial.

4. We most earnestly protest against any further issue of gold bonds, for sale in foreign markets, by which we would be made, for a long period, hewers of wood and drawers of water for foreigners, especially as the American people would gladly and promptly take, at par, all bonds the government may need to sell, provided they are made payable at the option of the holder, and bearing interest at 3.65 per cent per annum, or even a lower rate.

5. We further protest against the sale of government bonds for the purpose of purchasing silver, to be used as a substitute for our more convenient and less fluctuating fractional currency, which, although well calculated to enrich owners of silver mines, yet in operation it will still further oppress, in taxation, an already overburdened people.

The Republican convention was called to meet at Cincinnati on June 14. As the day approached, the public interest in the meeting became very great. The delegates

be dangerous to nominate a man who was so seriously assailed. On the Sunday morning before the convention, Mr. Blaine received a sunstroke, and was, for a day or two, believed to be dangerously sick. This also was unfortunate for him, and probably cost him some votes.

Theodore M. Pomeroy of New York was temporary chairman of the convention, and Edward McPherson of Pennsylvania was the permanent president. On the second day the adoption of the rules drafted by the committee on rules introduced some important reforms in national convention work. It was decided that the report of the committee on credentials should be disposed of first, the platform next, and only then should the nomination of candidates be in order. Another rule put an end to the practice of "stampeding," by providing that the roll-call should in no case be dispensed with; and that after the vote of a State for candidates was announced it should not be changed on that ballot.

There were several contested elections, but the only important case was that of Alabama, where one delegation, headed by Senator Spencer, was in favor of Mr. Morton, the other, headed by Mr. Haralson, a colored member of Congress, was divided between Mr. Blaine and Mr. Bristow. The Spencer delegation was refused admittance by a vote of 375 to 354, and the Haralson delegation was admitted. The following platform was then reported by General Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut:—

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of government of the people, by the people, and for the people, was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories to high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party in national con-

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assembled, make the following declaration of princ

United States of America is a nation, not a league. By
ined workings of the national and State governments,
r respective Constitutions, the rights of every citizen are
at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

Republican party has preserved these governments to the
anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now
ents of the great truths spoken at its cradle, "That all
reated equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with
nalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the
f happiness; that for the attainment of these ends gov-
have been instituted among men, deriving their just
om the consent of the governed." Until these truths are
obeyed, or, if need be, vigorously enforced, the work of
olican party is unfinished.

permanent pacification of the Southern section of the
and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free
at of all their rights, is a duty to which the Republican
nds sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the en-
t of the principles embodied by the recent constitutional
nts is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the
ates, and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the
and executive departments of the government to put
ic and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers

and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that Senators and Representatives, who may be judges and accusers, should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be swift, thorough, and unsparing.

7. The public-school system of the several States is a bulwark of the American Republic, and, with a view to its security and permanence, we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public land to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the government so to modify existing treaties with European governments, that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native-born; and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants, in the absence of power in the States for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of Congress fully to investigate the effect of immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican party recognizes with its approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal

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women by the many important amendments effected by our legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and family relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the consent and election of women to the superintendence of educational institutions, and other public trusts. The honest demands of our citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration.

The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to extirpate, in the Territories, that relic of barbarism — Slavery, and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all the Territories. We pledge the pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors, and which must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold in remembrance the sacrifices imperilled their lives for the country's preservation in the future.

We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party, in its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a majority, secured through the efforts of those who were reared against the nation; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would be a triumph for sectional strife and imperil national honor and human

honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services, in war and in peace.

18. We present as our candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States two distinguished statesmen, of eminent ability and character, and conspicuously fitted for those high offices, and we confidently appeal to the American people to entrust the administration of their public affairs to Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler.

The last resolution, of course, was only added to the series after the nominations had been made. When the resolutions had been read, Mr. E. L. Pierce of Massachusetts moved to strike out the eleventh resolution, relating to the Chinese. After a brief debate the motion was rejected, yeas 215, nays 532. Mr. E. J. Davis of Texas moved to strike out the fourth resolution, and to substitute the following:—

That it is the duty of Congress to provide for carrying out the act known as the Resumption Act of Congress, to the end that the resumption of specie payments may not be longer delayed.

A debate took place upon this proposition also, but the motion was rejected without a count, and the platform was then adopted. The proceedings of the second day closed with the formal nomination of candidates. Some of the speeches were remarkable efforts, and excited the partisans of the several candidates to the highest pitch of enthusiasm.

On the third day the nominations were made. On the first vote Mr. Blaine received 285, Mr. Morton 125, Mr. Bristow 113, Mr. Conkling 99, Mr. Hayes 61, Mr. Hartranft 58, Mr. Jewell 11, and Mr. William A. Wheeler of New York 3. Mr. Blaine's strength was made up of 77 votes from the South, and of 208 from

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States, the latter including some votes from every State except those which presented candidates of their own. Mr. Morton had 80 votes from Indiana, 95 from Southern States. Mr. Bristow's votes were given by seventeen States and one Territory, and were pretty scattering, except the votes of Kentucky, his home State, and 17 from Massachusetts, and 10 from Tennessee. Mr. Conkling's 99 were made up of 69 from New York and a few scattering votes from nine other States; Ohio contributing 25 of the 80. Mr. Hayes had 17 votes from other States than Ohio. The other candidates had no votes except from their respective States. The electoral college was necessary to effect a choice. They were as follows:—

	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.	7th.
.	285	296	293	292	286	308	351
.	125	120	113	108	95	85	—
.	113	114	121	126	114	111	21
.	99	93	90	84	82	81	—
.	61	64	67	68	104	113	384

Washington of the progress of the voting, wrote a despatch congratulating Mr. Hayes immediately on receiving the result of the fifth vote. During the progress of the voting a stormy scene took place upon the demand of four Pennsylvania delegates to have their votes separately recorded. The delegation had been instructed to vote "as a unit," and these delegates claimed the right to vote for themselves. Mr. McPherson, the president of the convention, sustained their demand, and, on an appeal, his decision was affirmed, 395 to 854. Thus was broken the famous "unit rule," which, after one more contest at Chicago, four years later, was abandoned by the Republicans, probably forever.

Several candidates were presented for the nomination for Vice-President, but, as the voting proceeded, nearly all the votes were for William A. Wheeler of New York. The other candidates were thereupon withdrawn, and Mr. Wheeler was unanimously nominated. The convention soon afterward adjourned, with cheers for the ticket.

The Democrats met at St. Louis two weeks later. The convention was deprived of much of its interest by the fact that Mr. Tilden's lead for the nomination was so very great. He was known to have more than four hundred delegates out of the whole convention of 744, and while his candidacy was opposed, the opposition came from States which nevertheless chose unanimous delegations in his favor. The delegates chosen in the interest of other candidates were for the latter, but not against Tilden. His nomination was therefore universally expected, except by the more sanguine friends of other candidates.

Mr. Henry Watterson of Kentucky was the temporary chairman, but at the close of the first day of the convention he yielded the chair to General John A. McClernand of Illinois, the permanent president. On the next day

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form was reported by Mr. Dorsheimer of New
s follows:—

he delegates of the Democratic party of the United States,
al convention assembled, do hereby declare the adminis-
of the Federal government to be in urgent need of im-
reform; do hereby enjoin upon the nominees of this
on, and of the Democratic party in each State, a zealous
co-operation to this end; and do hereby appeal to our
izens of every former political connection to undertake
his first and most pressing patriotic duty.

he Democracy of the whole country, we do here reaffirm
in the permanence of the Federal Union, our devotion to
stitution of the United States, with its amendments uni-
accepted as a final settlement of the controversies that
ed civil war, and do here record our steadfast confidence
perpetuity of Republican self-government.

olute acquiescence in the will of the majority,—the vital
of republics; in the supremacy of the civil over the mili-
ority; in the total separation of Church and State, for the
ke of civil and religious freedom; in the equality of all
before just laws of their own enactment; in the liberty of
conduct, unvexed by sumptuary laws; in the faithful
of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy,

make good the promise of the legal tender notes, which are a changing standard of value in the hands of the people, and the non-payment of which is a disregard of the plighted faith of the nation.

We denounce the improvidence which, in eleven years of peace, has taken from the people in Federal taxes thirteen times the whole amount of the legal tender notes, and squandered four times their sum in useless expense without accumulating any reserve for their redemption.

We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but instead has obstructed resumption, by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income; and, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such hindrance, we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and we here demand its repeal.

We demand a judicious system of preparation by public economy, by official retrenchment, and by wise finance, which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment.

We believe such a system, well devised, and, above all, entrusted to competent hands for its execution, creating at no time an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vaster machinery of credit by which ninety-five per cent of all business transactions are performed, — a system open, public, and inspiring general confidence, — would, from the day of its adoption, bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries, set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, restore employment to labor, and renew in all its natural resources the prosperity of the people.

Reform is necessary in the sum and modes of Federal taxation, to the end that capital may be set free from distrust, and labor lightly burdened.

We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly four thousand articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretence. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior

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the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American
wares at home and abroad and depleted the returns of
agriculture, — an industry followed by half our people.
The people five times more than it produces to the treasury,
the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of
it promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest
and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all
house taxation shall be only for revenue.

It is necessary in the scale of public expense, — Federal,
and municipal. Our Federal taxation has swollen from
tens of millions of gold, in 1860, to four hundred and fifty millions cur-
rent in 1870; our aggregate taxation from one hundred and fifty-
millions of gold, in 1860, to seven hundred and thirty millions
current in 1870; or in one decade from less than five dollars per
head to more than eighteen dollars per head. Since the peace, the
people have paid to their tax gatherers more than thrice the sum
of the national debt, and more than twice that sum for the Fed-
eral Government alone. We demand a rigorous frugality in every
branch of the Government, and from every officer of the government.

It is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of the
lands and their diversion from actual settlers by the party in
power which has squandered two hundred million acres upon rail-
roads, and out of more than thrice that aggregate has
paid less than a sixth directly to tillers of the soil.

It is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican

the controlling issue of the elections, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the office-holding class and the party in power seek to smother it:—

1. The false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation, and is resolved to maintain without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without largesses from the treasury to any.

2. The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred peoples once estranged, but now reunited in one indivisible republic and a common destiny.

Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the governmental business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election; be a prize fought for at the ballot-box; be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition. Here, again, promises falsified in the performance attest that the party in power can work out no practical or salutary reform.

Reform is necessary even more in the higher grades of the public service. President, Vice-President, judges, senators, representatives, cabinet officers, —these and all others in authority are the people's servants. Their offices are not a private perquisite; they are a public trust.

When the annals of this Republic show the disgrace and censure of a Vice-President; a late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three senators profiting secretly by their votes as law-makers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late Attorney-General misappropriating public funds; a Secretary of the Navy enriched or enriching friends by percentages levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an ambassador to England censured in a dishonorable speculation; the President's private secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors,

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demonstration is complete that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the influence of one political organization infect the body politic, and making no change of men or parties, we get no change of measures and no real reform.

These abuses, wrongs, and crimes, the product of sixteen years of ascendancy of the Republican party, create a necessity for reform confessed by Republicans themselves; but their reformers were voted down in convention and displaced from the cabinet. The party's mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the eighty-one office-holders, its leaders and guides.

Reform can only be had by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of measures, that we may have change of measures and of men.

Resolved, That this convention, representing the Democratic members of the United States, do cordially indorse the action of the House of Representatives in reducing and curtailing the expenses of the Federal government, in cutting down salaries, extravagant appropriations, and in abolishing useless offices and departments not required by the public necessities: and we shall trust to the honesty of the Democratic members of the House that no technical objection, no misinterpretation of the rules shall be allowed to defeat these wholesome measures of economy demanded by the country.

Resolved, That the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and the

to be forthwith repealed." This was in accordance with a minority report signed by eight members of the Committee on Resolutions, among whom was Mr. Voorhees of Indiana. The amendment was rejected, ayes 219, noes 550 ; and the platform as reported was then adopted, ayes 651, noes 83.

The convention then proceeded to the work of nominating a candidate for President. After the formal presentation of names, two votes were taken amid great excitement, with the following result:—

	First.	Second.
Samuel J. Tilden, N. Y.	417	535
Thomas A. Hendricks, Ind.	140	60
Winfield S. Hancock, Penn.	75	59
William Allen, Ohio	56	54
Thomas F. Bayard, Del.	33	11
Joel Parker, N. J.	18	18
Allen G. Thurman, Ohio	—	7

The whole number of votes on the second ballot being 744, the number necessary to a choice was 496,—the two-thirds rule having been adopted. Mr. Tilden was accordingly nominated, and the choice was enthusiastically made unanimous. On the next day Thomas A. Hendricks was nominated for Vice-President by a unanimous vote, though the Indiana delegation protested that they did not know if he would accept the second place on the ticket, and the convention shortly afterward adjourned.

The canvass which followed was comparatively spiritless. Mr. Hayes was not sufficiently well known to arouse enthusiasm, and Mr. Tilden, though commanding respect for his ability, was not a candidate to draw to himself strong personal supporters. The Republicans were on the defensive ; but this fact served to make the political discussion of the time more strictly a debate about

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and policies than it had been for many years. Democrats denounced the alleged bad record of the means; the latter derided the reform professions of opponents. Great efforts were made by the Republicans to discredit upon Mr. Tilden for his connection with certain railroad enterprises; and a suit was brought against him for income tax alleged to be due by him to the Government. The Democrats sneered at Mr. Hayes as an unknown man, and they roundly denounced the assessments which were mercilessly levied upon stockholders for funds to carry the elections. The Democrats made much of the opposition of the Democrats to the resumption policy, though it was well known that Tilden was a "hard money man." But on the whole there was less than the usual amount of excitement during the canvass, and less of the fireworks of political campaigns. Not many Republicans were in want of success, and the result of the early elections, particularly that of Indiana in October, indicated that Democrats would have enough Northern votes, with the "solid South," to give them a vic-

Indiana, New Jersey, and Connecticut. The whole number of electoral votes was 369. If the above estimate were correct, the Democratic candidates would have 203 votes, and the Republican candidates 166 votes. But word was sent out on the same day from Republican headquarters at Washington that Hayes and Wheeler were elected by one majority; that the States of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana had chosen Republican electors.

Then began the most extraordinary contest that ever took place in the country. The only hope of the Republicans was in the perfect defence of their position. The loss of a single vote would be fatal. An adequate history of the four months between the popular election and the inauguration of Mr. Hayes, would fill volumes. Space can be given here for only a bare reference to some of the most important events. Neither party was over-scrupulous, and no doubt the acts of some members of each party were grossly illegal and corrupt. Certain transactions preceding the meetings of electors were not known until long afterward, when the key to the famous "cipher despatches" was accidentally revealed.

In four States, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon, there were double returns. In South Carolina there were loud complaints that detachments of the army, stationed near the polls, had prevented a fair and free election. Although the board of State canvassers certified to the choice of the Hayes electors, who were chosen on the face of the returns, the Democratic candidates for electors met on the day fixed for the meeting of electors and cast ballots for Tilden and Hendricks. In Florida there were allegations of fraud on both sides. The canvassing board and the governor certified to the election of the Hayes electors, but, fortified by a court decision in

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or, the Democratic electors also met and voted. In Kansas there was anarchy. There were two governing boards, two sets of returns showing different results, and two electoral colleges. In Oregon the Democratic governor adjudged one of the Republican electors ineligible, and gave a certificate to the highest number on the Democratic list. The Republican electors, having no certificate from the governor, met and elected Hayes and Wheeler. The Democratic elector, whose appointment was certified to by the governor, appointed two others to fill the vacancies, when the two Republican electors would not meet with him, and the election was decided for Tilden and Hendricks. All of these cases were very complicated in their incidents, and a brief summary which should convey an intelligible idea of what actually happened is impossible. Pending the meetings of the electoral colleges, efforts were made on the part of one or the other party — Democrats — but the final responsibility for them was absolutely fixed upon any one — to procure one hundred electoral votes by bribery. Thus, for the first and last time in the history of the country, the election ended

STATES.	Samuel J. Tilden, N. Y.	Endorford B. Hayes, Ohio.	Peter Cooper, N. Y.	Green Clay Smith, Ky.
Maine	48,917	55,300	653	-
New Hampshire	38,509	41,539	76	-
Vermont	20,330	44,428	-	-
Massachusetts	108,777	150,008	779	84
Rhode Island	10,712	15,787	68	60
Connecticut	51,034	50,034	774	373
New York	521,949	489,207	1,067	1,359
New Jersey	115,962	103,517	712	43
Pennsylvania	396,204	384,164	7,187	1,319
Delaware	13,281	10,762	-	-
Maryland	91,780	71,861	33	10
Virginia	139,070	85,538	-	-
West Virginia	55,495	42,046	1,373	-
North Carolina	125,427	108,417	-	-
South Carolina	90,596	91,870	-	-
Georgia	130,088	50,446	-	-
Florida*	22,927	23,849	-	-
Florida†	24,434	24,340	-	-
Alabama	102,989	69,708	-	-
Mississippi	112,173	52,605	-	-
Louisiana*	70,508	75,315	-	-
Louisiana†	83,723	77,174	-	-
Texas	104,803	44,803	-	-
Arkansas	58,071	38,669	239	-
Missouri	203,077	145,029	2,496	64
Tennessee	123,166	89,566	-	-
Kentucky	159,686	97,156	1,944	818
Ohio	323,182	330,098	3,057	1,636
Michigan	141,085	166,534	9,000	793
Indiana	218,526	208,011	17,223	141
Illinois	258,601	278,332	9,523	-
Wisconsin	123,925	130,070	1,509	-
Minnesota	48,799	72,962	2,811	-
Iowa	112,121	171,325	9,001	86
Nebraska	17,554	31,916	2,520	1,599
Kansas	37,902	78,322	7,776	110
Colorado‡	-	-	-	-
Nevada	9,208	10,863	-	-
California	76,408	76,322	44	-
Oregon	14,140	15,206	516	-
Total, Republican count	4,285,992	4,033,768	81,737	9,522
Total, Democratic count	4,300,590	4,036,296	81,757	9,522

* Republican count.

† Democratic count.

‡ By Legislature.

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on as the electoral votes were cast it became a matter of the very first importance how they were to be counted.

It was evident that the Senate would refuse to assent to the joint rule — in fact the Senate voted to rescind the rule, — and it was further determined that if the count were to take place in accordance with that rule it would result in throwing out electoral votes of both sides on the most frivolous pretexts. It was asserted by the Republicans that, under the Constitution, the President of the Senate alone had the right to count the electoral votes, in spite of the fact that the joint rule, the work of the previous Congress, had assumed the power for the two Houses to count the electoral votes. On the other hand, the Democrats, who had denounced that rule as unconstitutional, now maintained that the right to count was conferred upon Congress by the Constitution. A compromise became necessary, and the moderate members of both sides determined to effect the establishment of a judicial tribunal, as evenly divided politically as might be, which should decide all disputed questions so far as the election gave authority to Congress to decide them. One of their efforts was the Electoral Commission.

The States, beginning with the letter A; and said tellers having then read the same in the presence and hearing of the two Houses, shall make a list of the votes as they shall appear from the said certificates; and the votes having been ascertained and counted as in this act provided, the result of the same shall be delivered to the President of the Senate, who shall thereupon announce the state of the vote and the names of the persons, if any, elected, which announcement shall be deemed a sufficient declaration of the persons elected President and Vice-President of the United States, and, together with a list of the votes, shall be entered upon the Journals of the two Houses. Upon such reading of any such certificate or paper, when there shall be only one return from a State, the President of the Senate shall call for objections, if any. Every objection shall be made in writing, and shall state clearly and concisely, and without argument, the ground thereof, and shall be signed by at least one senator and one member of the House of Representatives, before the same shall be received. When all objections so made to any vote or paper from a State shall have been received and read, the Senate shall thereupon withdraw, and such objections shall be submitted to the Senate for its decision, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall in like manner submit such objections to the House of Representatives for its decision, and no electoral vote or votes from any State from which but one return has been received shall be rejected except by the affirmative vote of the two Houses. When the two Houses have voted they shall immediately again meet, and the presiding officer shall then announce the decision of the question submitted.

SEC. 2. That if more than one return or paper, purporting to be a return from a State, shall have been received by the President of the Senate, purporting to be the certificates of the electoral votes given at the last preceding election for President and Vice-President in such State, unless they shall be duplicates of the same return, all such returns and papers shall be opened by him in the presence of the two Houses, when met as aforesaid, and read by the tellers; and all such returns and papers shall thereupon be submitted to the judgment and decision, as to which is the true and lawful electoral vote of such State, of a commission constituted as follows, namely:—

During the session of each House on the Tuesday next preceding the first Thursday in February, A. D. 1877, each House shall by

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vote appoint five of its members, who, with the five Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, to be named as hereinafter provided, shall constitute a commission to decide the decision of all questions upon or in respect of such returns named in this section. On the Tuesday next preceding the first Thursday in February, A. D. 1877, or as soon thereafter as may be, the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, now assigned to the first, third, eighth, and ninth circuits, shall select, in such manner as a majority of them shall determine, another of the associate justices of said court, which five shall be members of the said commission; and the person chosen by the commission of said five justices shall be the president of the said commission. Members of said commission shall respectively subscribe the following oath:—

"I, _____, do solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be) that I will impartially examine and consider all questions submitted to the commission of which I am a member, and a true answer to give thereon, agreeably to the Constitution and the laws, and the aid of the Lord God."

The oath shall be filed with the Secretary of the Senate. When the commission shall have been thus organized it shall not be subject to the power of either House to dissolve the same, or to withdraw any of its members; but if any such senator or member shall become physically unable to perform the duties required by the commission, the fact of such death or physical inability shall be by

electoral votes of each State shall be opened in the alphabetical order of the States as provided in section 1 of this act; and when there shall be more than one such certificate or paper, as the certificates or papers from such State shall so be opened (excepting duplicates of the same return), they shall be read by the tellers, and thereupon the President of the Senate shall call for objections, if any. Every objection shall be made in writing, and shall state clearly and concisely, and without argument, the ground thereof, and shall be signed by at least one senator and one member of the House of Representatives before the same shall be received. When all such objections so made to any certificates, vote, or paper from a State shall have been received and read, all such certificates, votes, and papers so objected to, and all papers accompanying the same, together with such objections, shall be forthwith submitted to said commission, which shall proceed to consider the same, with the same powers, if any, now possessed for that purpose by the two Houses, acting separately or together, and, by a majority of votes, decide whether any and what votes from such State are the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and how many and what persons were duly appointed electors in such State; and may therein take into view such petitions, depositions, and other papers, if any, as shall, by the Constitution and now existing law, be competent and pertinent in such consideration, which decision shall be made in writing, stating briefly the ground thereof, and signed by the members of said commission agreeing therein; whereupon the two Houses shall again meet, and such decision shall be read and entered in the Journal of each House, and the counting of the votes shall proceed in conformity therewith, unless, upon objection made thereto in writing by at least five senators and five members of the House of Representatives, the two Houses shall separately concur in ordering otherwise, in which case such concurrent order shall govern. No votes or papers from any other State shall be acted upon until the objections previously made to the votes or papers from any State shall have been finally disposed of.

SEC. 3. That while the two Houses shall be in meeting, as provided in this act, no debate shall be allowed, and no question shall be put by the presiding officer, except to either House on a motion to withdraw, and he shall have power to preserve order.

SEC. 4. That when the two Houses separate to decide upon an objection that may have been made to the counting of any elec-

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or votes from any State, or upon objection to a report of commission, or other question arising under this act, each representative may speak to such objection or question once, and not oftener than once; but, after such debate has lasted two hours, it shall be the duty of each House to sustain the question without further debate.

That at such joint meeting of the two Houses, seats shall be provided as follows: For the President of the Senate, the Vice President, the Speaker, immediately upon his left; the members of the Senate, in the body of the hall, upon the right of the presiding officer; for the representatives, in the body of the hall not provided for the Senators; for the tellers, Secretary of the Senate, and Clerk of the House of Representatives, at the clerk's desk; for the other members of the two Houses, in front of the clerk's desk, and upon the Speaker's platform. Such joint meeting shall not be adjourned until the count of the electoral votes shall be completed and the result declared; and no recess shall be taken unless a question shall have arisen in regard to counting any such votes arising under this act, in which case it shall be competent for either House, acting separately in the manner hereinbefore provided, to direct a recess of such House, not beyond the next day, excepted, at the hour of ten o'clock in the forenoon; and if any question is being considered by said commission, either House may proceed with its legislative or other business.

That nothing in this act shall be held to impair or

Senate an attempt was made to forbid the commission to "go behind the returns," but the amendment was rejected, yeas 18, all Republicans; nays 47, of whom 27 were Democrats, and 20 Republicans. The bill was passed by the Senate, yeas 47,—26 Democrats and 21 Republicans; nays 17,—16 Republicans and 1 Democrat. The bill became a law, by the approval of the President, on the 29th of January. On the next day each House proceeded to choose the five members who were to be members of the commission. The Senate made choice of senators George F. Edmunds, Oliver P. Morton, and Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Republicans, and Allen G. Thurman and Thomas F. Bayard, Democrats. The House of Representatives chose Messrs. Henry B. Payne, Eppa Hunton, and Josiah G. Abbott, Democrats, and James A. Garfield and George F. Hoar, Republicans. The four justices of the Supreme Court designated by the act were Justices Nathan Clifford, William Strong, Samuel F. Miller, and Stephen J. Field, of whom Messrs. Clifford and Field were Democrats in national politics; and they selected Justice Joseph P. Bradley as the fifth member of the commission on the part of the Supreme Court. Mr. Bradley was a Republican. The natural choice of the justices would have been their associate, David Davis; but he had been elected only five days before as senator from Illinois, and it was regarded by him and by others as improper that he should serve. Thus the commission consisted of eight Republicans and seven Democrats. If Judge Davis had been selected, there would have been only seven Republicans, and the result of the operation of the law might have been different.

At the time the count began, on the 1st of February, 1877, each party was confident of victory. The Democrats relied upon a great variety of objections which had

presiding officer. The count proceeded in the alphabetical order of the names of Florida was reached, the certificates also of the Tilden electors were made to each. The Democrats' electors were not duly chosen; that governor to their election was the fact that its validity, if any, had been subsequent certificate by the governor, Tilden electors were chosen; that certain the election of the Democrats one of the Republican electors' commissioner under appointment from the United States at the time of his election before disqualified. The Republican denial votes was that the returns were dictated by any person holding office at the time in the State of Florida. It was only on appeal that the commission, after very long and recent counsel selected to appear before, decided the case of Florida. The commission was not competent for the commission's defence *aliunde* the papers opened by the Senate, to prove that other persons were certified to the commission.

—all the Republicans being on one side, and all the Democrats on the other. The formal decision, which was submitted to the two Houses, was that the four Hayes electors, naming them, were duly appointed electors, and that their votes were the constitutional votes. The Houses met on February 10, and received this decision. Formal objection was then made to the decision of the Electoral Commission, and the Houses separated to consider it. The Senate, by a strict party vote, decided that the votes should be counted. The House of Representatives, by a vote which was on party lines, except that one Democrat voted with the Republicans, voted that the electoral votes given by the Tilden electors should be counted. The two Houses not having agreed in rejecting the decision of the commission, it stood, and the joint session was resumed. The votes of Florida having been recorded, the count proceeded until Louisiana was reached.

The Republican objections to the Tilden votes from Louisiana were, like those to the votes of Florida, brief and formal. The government, of which W. P. Kellogg was the head, had been recognized by every department of the government of the United States as the true government of Louisiana, and the certificates of the Hayes electors certified by him were in due form. The Democrats made a great variety of objections to the Hayes votes. They asserted that John McEnery was the lawful Governor of the State; that the certificates asserting the appointment of the Hayes electors were false; and that the canvass of votes by the returning board was without jurisdiction and void. Special objection was made to three of the electors: to two of them as being disqualified, under the Constitution; and to the third, Governor Kellogg, because he certified to his own elec-

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Several days were consumed in argument before the commission. On the 16th of February the commission reported, once more by eight to seven, that the evidence failed to prove that the Tilden electors were chosen in accordance with the law, and that the certificates of the Hayes electors were the true votes of Louisiana. The decision was then communicated to the two Houses, the count being resumed on the 19th. Objection was made to the report of the commission, and the two Houses separated to act upon them. The Senate voted, by 41 to 28, that the decision of the commission should stand. The House voted that the electoral votes cast by the Hayes electors for Louisiana ought not to be counted, — 173 to 127. In each case this was a party vote, except that two Democrats in the House voted with the Democrats. The two Houses then met again on the 20th, and resumed the count, which proceeded without dispute as far as the vote of Michigan, when objection was made from the Democratic side to one vote from that State, on the ground that one of the persons chosen by the people held

mously rejected the made-up vote of the Tilden board of electors, but decided, eight to seven, that the full board of Hayes electors were the legal electors for the State. The decision was objected to when communicated to the two Houses, and once more they separated, and each decided, substantially by a party vote, as before, — the Senate for accepting the decision, and the House of Representatives for rejecting it. They then met again, and resumed the count until Pennsylvania was reached. This was another case of an elector alleged to have been ineligible on account of his being a centennial commissioner. The other electors treated the place as vacant, and chose another person to act in it. The Senate agreed, without a division, to a resolution that the vote be counted. The House rejected it, 135 to 119, the affirmative consisting entirely of Democrats, and the negative containing only 15 of that party. The full vote of Pennsylvania was accordingly counted under the law, the two Houses not having agreed to reject. Rhode Island furnished a case not very different, but the two Houses this time concurred unanimously in deciding that the disputed vote should be counted.

To the Hayes votes in South Carolina the Democrats next objected that there was no legal election in the State, that there was not, in South Carolina, during the year 1876, a Republican form of government, and that the army and the United States deputy marshals stationed at and near the polls prevented the free exercise of the right of suffrage. The Republicans asserted that the Tilden board was not duly appointed, and that the certificates were wholly defective in form and lacking the necessary official certification. The papers having been referred to the Electoral Commission, that body met again on the 26th. Senator Thurman was obliged to retire from ser-

objections to the decision of the committee, the Senate sustained the finding, which was to reject it.

There were two further objections cast by an elector for Vermont, a subservient person who had been chosen by the result was the same as in the other cases. Finally, a case of the same kind in Wisconsin was decided in like manner. The Vermont objection was rejected by the presentation, by Mr. Hayes, of a packet purporting to contain a return from Vermont. The President of the Electoral Commission received no such vote, nor any vote from the regularly chosen Hayes electors, nor from the Democrats.

The count had begun on the first day of the final vote upon Wisconsin was not completed until the early morning of March 2. As the question was decided uniformly in favor of the Republican electors, it was evident to the Democrats that their charges of gross partisanship upon the part of the Electoral Commission, in determining the returns for their party, were as a matter of fact, without foundation.

count became more and more certainly a Republican triumph, the anger of the Democrats rose. Some of them were for discontinuing the count; and the symptoms of a disposition to filibuster so that there should be no declaration of the result gave reason for public disquietude. But the conservative members of the party were too patriotic to allow the failure of a law which they had been instrumental in passing to lead to anarchy or revolution, and they sternly discountenanced all attempts to defeat the conclusion of the count. The summing up of the votes was read by Mr. Allison of Iowa, one of the tellers on the part of the Senate, at a little after four o'clock, on the morning of the 2d of March, amid great excitement. That result, as declared, was as follows:—

STATES.	Hayes.	Tilden.	STATES.	Hayes.	Tilden.
Maine	7	—	Texas	—	8
New Hampshire .	5	—	Arkansas	—	6
Vermont	5	—	Missouri	—	15
Massachusetts .	13	—	Tennessee	—	12
Rhode Island . .	4	—	Kentucky	—	12
Connecticut . . .	—	6	Ohio	22	—
New York	—	35	Michigan	11	—
New Jersey . . .	—	9	Indiana	—	15
Pennsylvania . .	29	—	Illinois	21	—
Delaware	—	3	Wisconsin	10	—
Maryland	—	8	Minnesota	5	—
Virginia	—	11	Iowa	11	—
West Virginia . .	—	5	Nebraska	3	—
North Carolina .	—	10	Kansas	5	—
South Carolina .	7	—	Colorado	3	—
Georgia	—	11	Nevada	3	—
Florida	4	—	California	6	—
Alabama	—	10	Oregon	8	—
Mississippi	—	8			
Louisiana	8	—		185	184

Mr. Ferry thereupon declared Rutherford B. Hayes elected President, and William A. Wheeler Vice-Presi-

XXV.

GARFIELD.

THE disputed election of 1876 led to the introduction in Congress of a large number of propositions to amend the Constitution, and to supply constitutional omissions by law. Not one of these propositions has been passed upon by both Houses of Congress. Neither branch has even voted, since 1876, upon a resolution to amend the Constitution; and, although partial action has been taken upon one or two bills, the Constitution and the law remain precisely as they were in 1876. But it may be well to notice the suggestions which were made during Mr. Hayes's administration,—during the special session of Congress, October 15, 1877, and the regular session, which was a continuation of it.

Mr. Cravens of Arkansas offered a resolution of amendment to the Constitution, providing that the people should vote directly for President and Vice-President. Each State was to have a number of presidential votes equal to its electoral votes under the present system, which votes were to be apportioned in each State among the several candidates, in the proportion of the votes given to each; the legislature of each State was to direct the manner in which the presidential vote of that State was to be ascertained; on a day to be fixed by Congress, or, in case of disagreement between the two Houses, on a day to be named by the President, not less than fifteen nor more than thirty days before the 4th of March, a joint meeting of the two Houses was to be held, the President of the

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as to open the presidential votes, certified to by the Governor of the State, and one list from each State to be counted under the direction of the two Houses. A majority of all the presidential votes was required for choice. In case no choice had been made by the majority, then the two houses, in joint convention, were to elect a president by *viva voce* vote, each senator and member having one vote, the choice being limited to the two highest on the list, unless two persons should receive an equal number of votes next to the highest; one senator and a majority of the representatives from two States were to constitute a quorum for the purpose of this election. In case no person should receive a majority of the Congress so voting, the President was to continue to be President until a choice was made. The election of Vice-President was to be in the same manner, and at the same time as that of the President. Whenever the office of Vice-President became vacant there was to be an election by joint convention of the two Houses within ten days after the next meeting of Con-

apportion to each candidate his proportional part of the presidential votes of the State, and to make return thereof to the President of the Senate; the two Houses to be in session on the third Monday of January after a presidential election, a joint meeting to be held, to be presided over by the President of the Senate, unless he should be a candidate for the office of President, and in that case by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and if he were similarly disqualified, then by a presiding officer chosen by the joint convention; a plurality of votes to elect both the President and the Vice-President; the joint convention to be the judge of the returns and qualifications of the persons who shall be President and Vice-President. If no conclusion upon the returns should be reached by the second Monday in February, the convention was to vote *viva voce* upon the question who was constitutionally elected President, and who Vice-President,—a majority of those present to determine all questions.

Mr. Maish of Pennsylvania proposed a popular election of President, without the intervention of any electors. The votes were to be returned to the Secretary of State of each State, and to be by him opened in the presence of the governor and the chief justice of the highest court, and these three officers were to apportion electoral votes to each candidate in accordance with the returns. This proposition did not deal with the matter of a count of the votes.

Mr. Finley of Ohio proposed a direct vote of all the people for President and Vice-President, disregarding State lines altogether; a plurality of votes was to elect in each case, but if two persons had an equal and the highest number of votes, then the House of Representatives was to choose the President from those two; or, if the failure was in relation to the Vice-Presidency, then

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Senate was to make the choice. In each case the vote was to be *viva voce*, and each member was to have one vote; the canvass of returns for President and Vice-President was to be made by Congress in a manner to be determined by joint rules or by law, and if the two Houses did not agree, the matter in dispute was to be referred to the Supreme Court for final decision.

William Eaton of Connecticut proposed in the Senate an amendment constituting a tribunal for the decision of contested questions arising out of the presidential election. At least twelve months before the occurrence of such election, the governor of each State was to appoint, with the consent of the Senate of the State, five qualified electors, who were to hear and determine all questions of law in relation to the choice of electors, and to transmit their report, sealed, to the President of the Senate. A resolution offered by Mr. Riddle of Tennessee provided for a direct election by the people, a clear majority of the electors required for a choice. In case such majority should not be obtained, then a second election was to be held within two months of the time of the first vote, when the

dent was to be made as the Constitution now provides for cases of no choice made by the electors.

In May, 1878, Mr. Southard of Ohio, from a committee of the House of Representatives, appointed for the purpose, reported a plan. It dispensed with electors altogether. Each State was to be entitled to as many presidential votes as it would have electors under the present system. The people having voted directly for President and Vice-President, the vote for each candidate in any State was to be ascertained by multiplying the number of votes given for any person by the number of presidential votes assigned to the State, and dividing the product by the whole number of votes cast; and the fractions were to be ascertained, to the third place of decimals. The returns were to be made to the Secretary of State of each State, who was to open them in the presence of the governor and the State auditor or controller; and the apportionment of presidential votes was to be made by them as a canvassing board. Contests as to an election might be passed upon by the highest judicial tribunal in each State, and the decision was to be sent to the President of the Senate at Washington. The votes were to be counted by the two Houses of Congress, assembled under the presidency of the President of the Senate, and all votes were to be counted unless the two Houses concurred in rejecting them; or, if there was a decision by the highest court of the State upon a contest, that decision was to stand unless the two Houses concurred in overruling it. If there were dual returns, or two decisions purporting to be by the highest court, that was to be accepted which the two Houses should decide to be the true return or the true decision. A plurality of votes was to elect the President, and in case of a tie the election was to be made in the manner now provided for the case of a failure to elect by

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electors. This proposition never came up for discussion.

A determined effort was made by the Senate, during the session of 1878-79, to amend the law relative to the mode of voting, by a statute covering the whole subject. The bill was managed by Mr. Edmunds of Vermont. A full account of its provisions only can be given. It fixed the time for the appointment of electors in the several States to the first Tuesday of October in each year. If a vacancy should occur in both the offices of President and Vice-President more than two months before the first Tuesday of October in any year other than that in which electors would be regularly appointed, an election was to be held. The time for the meeting of the electors was to be the second Monday of January following their appointment. The fourth section was as follows:—

Any State may provide by law enacted prior to the day in this act named for the appointment of the electors, for the trial and determination of any controversy concerning the appointment of electors before the time fixed for the meeting of the electors in

in the manner provided in the section just quoted. If there were no such determination, or if there were two or more decisions purporting to have been made in accordance with a law passed in conformity with that section, that return, or that decision only, could be accepted which the two Houses acting separately should decide by affirmative vote to be in accordance with the Constitution and the laws. When the two Houses separated to consider objections to electoral votes, each member of either House might speak once only, for five minutes, and at the expiration of two hours it would become the duty of the presiding officer to put the main question. After several days of debate this bill was passed by the Senate, 85 to 26. The negative vote consisted entirely of Democrats; the majority was made up of Republicans, with the exception of Messrs. Bayard, Merrimon, and Morgan, Democrats, and Judge Davis of Illinois, Independent. It was referred in the House of Representatives to the select committee having the subject in charge, but no report was made upon it.

In May, 1880, the Democrats having a majority in the Senate, Mr. Morgan of Alabama reported from a select committee a joint rule for the government of the two Houses in counting the electoral votes. It differed from the rescinded twenty-second rule in several particulars. No vote from a State which sent but one return was to be rejected except by the affirmative action of both branches of Congress. If two or more returns should be offered, neither was to be counted unless the two Houses agreed in deciding that one of them was the true and correct return. Provision was also made for one hour's debate in each House upon objections, no member to speak more than once, or longer than ten minutes; and also for debate by unanimous consent in the joint meet-

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It was further provided that an appeal might be from a decision by the presiding officer, which was overruled only by concurrent action of both.

This proposed rule was considered at length. Edmunds endeavored to have his bill, already submitted, with some changes, substituted for the rule.

It was voted down, as were all other amendments, and

the rule was adopted by the Senate, by a vote of 25 to

15, party vote, except that Mr. Davis of Illinois voted

with the Democrats. In the House, the Republicans en-

deavored to have the rule referred to a committee, but

motions having that object in view were voted

down. Finally the matter was postponed until the first

day in December, 1880. It was under consideration

several times during the session, but the Republicans

strongly opposed it, and on the last day that it was

considered, Jan. 26, 1881, they filibustered successfully

against its passage.

In February of the same year a resolution was

passed, which carried the conduct of the count back to

Mr. Hayes, immediately after his accession to the presidential office, reversed the policy of his predecessor in respect of the support of the Republican governments of South Carolina and Louisiana, and those governments were speedily overthrown by their Democratic rivals. This course eliminated the Southern question from national politics to a great extent, by the simple expedient of allowing those who threatened and proclaimed their purpose to rule, by violence if necessary, to have everything their own way. It made the South so far "solid," that in the Forty-sixth Congress, elected in 1878, there were but four Republican representatives from all the Southern States, against 102 Democrats. In the first half of Mr. Hayes's term the House was controlled by the Democrats, and the Senate by the Republicans, while from 1879 to 1881, each House was governed by a Democratic majority.

The events of this administration had far less influence upon the ensuing election than has usually been the case. The leading events, in a political sense, were: The silver agitation, which resulted in the passage of the act of Feb. 28, 1878, for the coinage of the standard silver dollar, after the bill had been returned by the President with his objections; the agitation for the repeal of the Resumption Act, which did not succeed, and the resumption of specie payments at the beginning of 1879; the attempt to revive the controversy over the "great fraud of 1877," by the formation of the Potter Committee; the passage, veto, and failure of a bill to restrict Chinese immigration; and finally the prolonged contests, first between the Senate and the House of Representatives, and then between the two Houses of Congress and the President, on the subject of attaching political legislation to appropriation bills. The purpose of the Democrats in

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riders upon the appropriation bills, — to prohibit of United States troops at the polls, to regulate travelling of juries, and to prevent the appointment of marshals for elections in which representatives were to be chosen, — was to force upon the President the duty of approving such political legislation or of withholding the government of needed supplies. All these measures had for the most part died out before the election of 1880 took place. It was seen, as that contest drew near, that the Republicans were in much better condition than they were four years earlier. Prosperity had returned to the country with the resumption of payments. The policy of the President had been to endeavor to unite the party, partly because it had the members of both wings to join in defence of the reputation of the party, under the leadership of the President, and partly because there had been no scandals, no official quarrels, after the first year of the administration. Mr. Hayes prepared the way for a fresh victory for the Republicans, without attaching — possibly without

there was no concentration of opinion. It was in the early stages of the preliminary canvass universally conceded that Mr. Tilden would be nominated if he would accept the candidacy; but his health was known to be infirm, and, as he gave no indication of his intentions, his opponents worked secretly and successfully to secure delegates who were opposed to him.

The Republican convention met at Chicago on the 2d of June. Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts was the temporary and also the permanent president. Three days were occupied in preliminaries and in deciding cases of contesting delegates, of whom there were many. The opposition which the candidacy of General Grant encountered was significantly indicated by a resolution introduced by Senator Conkling, who managed the Grant canvass, as follows : —

Resolved, As the sense of this convention, that every member of it is bound in honor to support its nominee, whoever that nominee may be, and that no man should hold his seat here who is not ready so to agree.

After a brief debate, this resolution was passed by a vote of 716 to 8, — the latter being delegates from West Virginia. Mr. Conkling offered a resolution that those who had voted in the negative, “do not deserve and have forfeited their votes in this convention.” To this summary way of disfranchising delegates there were numerous objections, and, in view of the possible rejection of the resolution, Mr. Conkling withdrew it.

On the fourth day General James A. Garfield reported from a committee a series of proposed rules. These were for the most part the rules of the convention of 1876; but one important amendment was made, to the effect that when the vote of any State should be announced by the chairman, if any exception should be taken to the an-

railways have increased from thirty-one thousand miles in 1860 to more than eighty-two thousand miles in 1879. Our foreign trade has increased from seven hundred million dollars to one billion, one hundred and fifty million dollars in the same time, and our exports, which were twenty million dollars less than our imports in 1860, were two hundred and sixty-four million more than our imports in 1879. Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of government beside the accruing interest on the public debt, and has annually disbursed more than thirty million dollars for soldiers' pensions. It has paid eight hundred and eighty-eight million dollars of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at lower rates, has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly one hundred and fifty-one million dollars to less than eighty-nine million dollars. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed.

Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:—

1. We affirm that the work of the last twenty-one years has been such as to commend itself to the favor of the nation, and that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the dissevered Union, now happily restored, should be perpetuated, and that the liberties secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to future generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce, already so great, should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract; out of confederated States it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation, while others are denied to the States; but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national, and not by the State tribunals.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but is the duty of the national government to aid that

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extent of its constitutional duty. The intelligence of the
at the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States,
any of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of
te, but by the average genius of all.

Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law
an establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that
can be protected against the influences of sectarianism
State is exposed to its domination. We therefore recom-
the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same
upon the legislature of each State, and to forbid the
on of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

Urm the belief avowed in 1876, that the duties levied
ose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor Ameri-
that no further grant of the public domain should be
y railway or other corporation; that, slavery having
the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in
es; that everywhere the protection accorded to citizens
n birth must be secured to citizens by American adop-
that we esteem it the duty of Congress to develop and
r watercourses and harbors, but insist that further sub-
vate persons or corporations must cease; that the obli-
the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in
battle are undiminished by the lapse of the fifteen years
al victory, — to do them perpetual honor is, and shall

We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust of office and patronage; that to obtain possession of the national and State governments and the control of place and position they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage, and have devised fraudulent certifications and returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress, to secure at all hazards the vote of a majority of the States in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, and rescued by the courageous action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills, upon whose passage the very movements of the government depend, and have crushed the rights of individuals; have advocated the principles and sought the favor of rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war, and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality.

The equal, steady, and complete enforcement of laws and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the nation. The dangers of a solid South can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to the citizen. The execution of the laws and the punishment of all those who violate them are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes, the nation must perform, and the nation cannot with safety delegate this duty to the States. The solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all opinions must there find free expression, and to this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud.

And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use every legitimate means to restore all the States of this Union to the most perfect harmony that may be practicable; and we submit it to the practical, sensible people of the United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the national government to the party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy under which we are so prosperous, and thus

On the morning of Tuesday there was a slight change. About twenty of the supporters of Mr. Edmunds, joined by a few others, transferred their votes to Mr. Sherman, giving him 116. His number rose to 120 on the thirtieth ballot; but, as not the slightest impression was made upon the Grant and Blaine forces, the movement came to nothing, and on the next trial his strength began to decline again. On the thirty-fourth ballot 17 votes were given to James A. Garfield. General Garfield had received one vote on the second ballot, the day before, and thereafter had received sometimes one vote, sometimes two votes, and sometimes none. He was present in the convention as a delegate and as the manager of Mr. Sherman's canvass, and had been a conspicuous figure in the proceedings of the convention. When he suddenly sprang into prominence on the thirty-fourth ballot, the idea of making him the candidate met with great favor. On the thirty-fifth ballot a number of Mr. Blaine's delegates transferred their votes to him, and gave him 50 votes. On the next trial, — the thirty-sixth, — he received 399, and was nominated. The history of the voting will be sufficiently exhibited by showing in a table the result of the 1st, the 28th, the 30th, the 34th, the 35th, and the 36th trials: —

	1st.	28th.	30th.	34th.	35th.	36th.
U. S. Grant.	304	307	306	312	313	306
J. G. Blaine	284	279	279	275	257	42
J. Sherman	98	91	120	107	99	8
G. F. Edmunds	83	81	11	11	11	—
E. B. Washburne	81	85	33	30	23	5
W. Windom	10	10	4	4	3	—
J. A. Garfield	—	2	2	17	50	399

The nomination was received with great enthusiasm by the most of the members of the convention, and with

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satisfaction throughout the country; but some of the prominent leaders of the Grant movement were ailing and discontented. A consultation took place between the members of the two wings, and the nomination of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency was conceded to those who had been upholding the cause of General Grant. Mr. Conkling, who was recognized as the chief champion for the ex-President, named Mr. Chester A. Arthur of New York. Mr. Arthur's only service in the Federal government had been rendered as collector of the port of New York, from which position he had been removed by Mr. Hayes. The first ballot for a candidate was as follows: For Chester A. Arthur, 468; Elihu S. P. Burne of Illinois, 199; Marshall Jewell of Connecticut, 43; Horace Maynard of Tennessee, 30; Edw. J. Davis of Texas, 20; Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi, 8; James L. Alcorn of Mississippi, 4; Thomas W. H. of Florida, 2; Stewart L. Woodford of New York, 1. The nomination of Mr. Arthur was made unanimous, and the convention adjourned.

The next convention held was that of the Greenbackers. It met at Chicago on the 9th of June. The Rev. Gilbert De La Matyr of Indiana was the temporary chairman, and Richard Trevellick of Michigan was the permanent president. On the second day the following platform was reported and adopted:—

1. That the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit. The delegation of this right to corporations is a surrender of the central attribute of sovereignty, void of constitutional sanction, conferring upon a subordinate irresponsible power absolute dominion over industry and commerce. All money, whether metallic or paper, should be issued and its volume controlled by the government, and not by or through banking corporations, and, when so issued, should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

2. That the bonds of the United States should not be refunded, but paid as rapidly as practicable, according to contract. To enable the government to meet these obligations, legal tender currency should be substituted for the notes of the national banks, the national banking system abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as gold, established by law.

3. That labor should be so protected by national and State authority as to equalize its burdens and ensure a just distribution of its results; the eight-hour law of Congress should be enforced; the sanitary condition of industrial establishments placed under rigid control; the competition of contract labor abolished; a bureau of labor statistics established; factories, mines, and workshops inspected; the employment of children under fourteen years of age forbidden; and wages paid in cash.

4. Slavery being simply cheap labor, and cheap labor being simply slavery, the importation and presence of Chinese serfs necessarily tends to brutalize and degrade American labor; therefore immediate steps should be taken to abrogate the Burlingame treaty.

5. Railroad land grants forfeited by reason of non-fulfilment of contract should be immediately reclaimed by government; and henceforth the public domain reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers.

6. It is the duty of Congress to regulate interstate commerce.

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of communication and transportation should be brought
under legislative control as shall secure moderate, fair, and
reasonable rates for passenger and freight traffic.

denounce, as destructive to prosperity and dangerous to
the action of the old parties in fostering and sustaining
land, railroad, and money corporations, invested with, and
exercising powers belonging to the government, and yet not re-
sponsible to it for the manner of their exercise.

At the Constitution, in giving Congress the power to borrow
money, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and
maintain a navy, never intended that the men who loaned their
names for an interest consideration should be preferred to the
brave sailor who perilled their lives and shed their blood on
the sea in defence of their country; and we condemn the
legislation of the Republican party, which, while pro-
fessing great gratitude to the soldier, has most unjustly discrimi-
nated against him and in favor of the bondholder.

property should bear its just proportion of taxation; and
there should be a graduated income tax.

denounce as most dangerous the efforts everywhere man-
ifest to restrict the right of suffrage.

are opposed to an increase of the standing army in time
of peace, and the insidious scheme to establish an enormous mili-
tary force under the guise of militia laws.

15. That every citizen of due age; sound mind, and not a felon, be fully enfranchised; and that this resolution be referred to the States, with recommendation for their favorable consideration.

An informal vote was taken for a candidate for President, with the following result: James B. Weaver of Iowa had 224½; Hendrick B. Wright of Pennsylvania, 126½; Stephen D. Dillaye of New York, 119; Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, 95; Solon Chase of Maine, 89; Edward P. Allis of Wisconsin, 41; Alexander Campbell of Illinois, 21. The delegations began changing as soon as the strong lead of Mr. Weaver was known, and that gentleman was unanimously nominated. On a vote for a candidate for Vice-President, B. J. Chambers of Texas had 403 and Alanson M. West of Mississippi had 311. Mr. Chambers was thereupon unanimously nominated.

The Prohibitionists held a convention at Cleveland, Ohio, on the 17th of June. It attracted so little attention that no report of its proceedings was published in the leading newspapers of the country. Twelve States were represented by 142 delegates. A platform presenting the principles of the party, in much the same form as they were announced in 1876, was adopted. General Neal Dow of Maine was nominated for President, and A. M. Thompson of Ohio for Vice-President.

The series of national conventions was closed by that of the Democrats at Cincinnati on the 22d of June. What that convention would do was a matter of great uncertainty. Mr. Tilden had still not indicated what was his wish in respect to the nomination. It is probable that if he had frankly allowed it to be understood that he would be a candidate, he could have secured enough delegates to make him the nominee on the first ballot. But he neither encouraged nor discouraged his friends, and

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hem in the dark as to his purposes; and the consequence was that hardly a third of the delegates went to Annapolis for Tilden as their first choice. A great many Northern members of the convention were in favor of Governor Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware. General Hancock was brought forward by Pennsylvania, and had strong support in other States. Ohio presented Senator Sherman; and Mr. Hendricks, as well as other leaders of the party, Mr. Henry B. Payne of Ohio, Speaker Samuel J. Randall, and Judge Stephen J. Field, had their friends. Movement was begun in favor of Mr. Horatio Seymour, but it made not a little progress in a quiet way. Mr. Seymour was captured by an "interviewer," and expressed himself in such terms that it was believed that he would not accept the nomination if it should be offered; and, though he received a few votes, there was no opportunity to test his actual strength in the convention.

Simultaneously with the assembling of the convention came a letter from Mr. Tilden, in which he "renounced"

lar" Democrats; the other, the "Tammany" delegation. The attitude of the Tammany organization towards Mr. Tilden in 1876, and the open declaration of Mr. John Kelly and other members of the contesting delegation, that if that candidate should be nominated again they would not support him, did not give the delegation favor in the eyes of the convention; and the committee on credentials reported against giving them any recognition whatever. A minority of the committee reported in favor of granting their request to be allowed twenty of the seventy votes of New York. After a debate the minority report was rejected by a vote of yeas 205½; nays 457, the New York delegation being excused from voting at its own request. Thus Tammany was excluded from the convention altogether.

Ex-Governor John W. Stevenson of Kentucky having been chosen permanent president of the convention the platform was reported by Mr. Henry Watterson of Kentucky, and unanimously adopted. It was as follows:—

The Democrats of the United States, in convention assembled, declare —

1. We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party, as illustrated by the teachings and example of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots, and embodied in the platform of the last national convention of the party.

2. Opposition to centralizationism and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever be the form of government, a real despotism. No sumptuary laws; separation of church and state for the good of each; common schools fostered and protected.

3. Home rule; honest money, consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, state and national; and a tariff for revenue only.

4. The subordination of the military to the civil power, and a general and thorough reform of the civil service.

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right to a free ballot is the right preservative of all must and shall be maintained in every part of the Uni-

existing administration is the representative of conspiracy its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops and marshals, to intimidate and obstruct the electors, and the precedent use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and power, insult the people and imperil their institutions.

grand fraud of 1876-77, by which, upon a false count of electoral votes of two States, the candidate defeated at the declared to be President, and, for the first time in American history, the will of the people was set aside under a threat of violence, struck a deadly blow at our system of representative government; the Democratic party, to preserve the country from civil war, submitted for a time in firm and patriotic faith that the people would punish this crime in 1880; this issue pre-eminently warfs every other; it imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the conscience of a free man.

execrate the course of this administration in making the civil service a reward for political crime, and demand a statute which shall make it forever impossible for the candidate to bribe his way to the seat of a usurper by claims upon the people.

resolution of Samuel J. Tilden not again to be a candi-

12. Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public land for actual settlers.

13. The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorant and the commune.

14. We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress, which has reduced the public expenditure forty million dollars a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the national honor abroad; and, above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the government as shall insure us genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service.

The business of the convention was transacted so expeditiously that the formal presentation of the candidates took place on the second day, and one ballot for a candidate for President was taken. It showed a slight lead for General Hancock over Mr. Bayard, but the combined vote for both these candidates did not constitute a majority of the convention. A second ballot was taken the next morning, when General Hancock gained nearly one hundred and fifty votes, and the delegations then began changing in his favor, and he was nominated. The hand of Mr. Tilden was detected, or rather suspected, in the voting, but if he had any part in the affair he suffered a defeat. The vote of New York was at first cast for Mr. Payne of Ohio, who was believed to be Mr. Tilden's heir; but, on the second ballot, New York and nearly all the recognized friends of Tilden voted for Mr. Randall, who was also supposed to be a favorite of Mr. Tilden. It was mentioned as a queer feature of the convention that none of the delegates seemed to be very enthusiastically in favor of their respective candidates, and it was said that those who voted at the beginning for General Hancock were ready to abandon him if any other gentleman should have a lead over him. Accordingly, although he had been

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as a candidate and had received votes in the con-
of 1868 and 1876, and although he was so promi-
or to the convention of 1880, his nomination had
effect of a surprise. The two ballots, the second
od originally and as it was when the changes had
de, were as follows:—

CANDIDATES.	1st.	2d.	After changes.
S. Hancock, Pennsylvania	171	220	70%
C. Bayard, Delaware	158½	113	2
Payne, Ohio	81	—	—
Thurman, Ohio	68½	50	—
C. Field, California	65	65½	—
R. Morrison, Illinois	62	—	—
A. Hendricks, Indiana	60½	81	30
Tilden, N. y York	33	6	1
Seymour, New York	8	—	—
Randall, Pennsylvania	—	123½	—
.	31	32	—

ames were presented as candidates for the Vice-
that of William H. English of Indiana, and

the years 1872 and 1878. At one time the number "829" was painted, chalked and printed everywhere, on sidewalks, doors and dead walls, and in the newspapers; that being the number of dollars he was alleged to have received as a Credit Mobilier dividend. At the very end of the canvass the famous "Morey Letter" was forged and scattered broadcast, particularly in the Pacific States. That letter, in which General Garfield's handwriting was counterfeited with some success, addressed to a mythical person named Morey, asserted principles on the Chinese question which, if they had been held by General Garfield, would have made him unpopular in California and the other States where "Chinese cheap labor" is regarded as a crying evil. It was lithographed and printed in vast numbers, and scattered among the voters in the Pacific States at a time when an effective denial of its authenticity was impossible; and it had a great effect.

Another feature of the canvass was the sudden importation of the tariff question into the political discussion a few weeks before the election. The Democratic platform had declared in favor of "a tariff for revenue only." Republican speakers seized upon this as an assertion of the baldest free-trade doctrine, and they denounced it with surprising vigor as assailing the interests of American industry. The Democrats could not make an effective reply, at least they did not; and they would not defend the phrase in its obvious meaning. No one really supposed that General Hancock was a free trader, but some unfortunate sentences which were written and spoken by him gave an opportunity to the Republicans to jeer at his supposed ignorance upon all tariff questions.

The canvass was also remarkable for the conspicuous absence of agitation upon Southern questions, which had less to do with the result than with that of any other

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since the Abolitionists defeated Henry Clay in 1840 and this in spite of the fact that the South was still for the Democrats. Another fact was the utterance of the Democrats to excite the interest of the people on the "fraud issue," meaning the result of the Election Commission law of 1877, which issue, the Democratic press had said, "precedes and dwarfs every other." The year 1876 was, finally, singular for the discord and dissension among the Grant men in the Republican party at the close of the year, followed, after a reverse in Maine in September, by a restoration of harmony and an increase of energy which immediately thereafter gave energy to the campaign which carried Ohio and Indiana in October, and made Rutherford B. Hayes President. Reference must also be made to the scandals connected with the contributions of funds to the Republican treasury, which brought into unpleasant prominence the contributions of certain officials who afterwards shown to have obtained their money by corrupt or otherwise improper acts.

Ulysses S. Grant had but an insignificant plurality of

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.				ELECTORAL VOTE.	
	James A. Garfield, Ohio.	Winfield S. Hancock, Penn.	James B. Weaver, Iowa.	Neal Dow, Maine.	Garfield.	Hancock.
Maine	74,039	65,171*	4,408	93	7	—
New Hampshire	44,832	40,794	538	180	5	—
Vermont	45,567	18,816	1,215	—	5	—
Massachusetts	165,205	111,990	4,548	692	12	—
Rhode Island	18,195	10,779	236	30	4	—
Connecticut	67,071	64,415	853	409	6	—
New York	555,544	534,511	12,373	1,517	35	—
New Jersey	120,555	122,565	2,617	191	—	9
Pennsylvania	444,704	407,423	20,068	1,939	29	—
Delaware	14,133	15,375	120	—	—	3
Maryland	76,515	93,708	818	—	—	8
Virginia	94,020	128,588†	—	—	—	11
West Virginia	40,243	57,391	9,079	—	—	5
North Carolina	115,874	124,266	1,195	—	—	10
South Carolina	58,071	112,312	568	—	—	7
Georgia	54,066	102,470	969	—	—	11
Florida	23,854	27,964	—	—	—	4
Alabama	56,221	91,165	4,642	—	—	10
Mississippi	34,854	75,750	5,797	—	—	8
Louisiana	36,637‡	65,067	439	—	—	6
Texas	57,809	156,423	27,405	—	—	8
Arkansas	42,436	60,775	4,079	—	—	6
Missouri	153,567	208,609	25,135	—	—	15
Tennessee	107,877	128,191	5,917	43	—	19
Kentucky	106,806	149,069	11,469	268	—	12
Ohio	375,048	340,321	6,458	2,618	22	—
Michigan	185,241	131,697	—	942	11	—
Indiana	222,164	235,622	12,998	—	15	—
Illinois	318,037	277,321	26,359	443	21	—
Wisconsin	144,400	114,649	7,986	69	10	—
Minnesota	92,903	53,815	3,967	268	5	—
Iowa	183,077	105,845	22,701	502	11	—
Nebraska	54,979	28,623	3,969	—	3	—
Kansas	121,549	58,801	19,851	25	5	—
Colorado	27,450	34,647	1,435	—	3	—
Nevada	9,722	9,613	—	—	—	3
California	60,243	60,496	3,292	—	1	5
Oregon	20,519	19,948	249	—	3	—
TOTAL	4,434,418	4,444,362	308,578	10,311	214	185

* Votes for a fusion electoral ticket, made up of three Democrats and four Greenbackers. A "straight" Greenback ticket was also voted for.

† Two Democratic tickets were voted for in Virginia. The regular ticket received 96,312, and was successful; the "Readjusters" polled 21,874 votes.

‡ Two Republican tickets were voted for.

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ent of votes took place under the resolution
ticed. The electoral votes of Georgia were
the alternative manner first devised in 1821, as
een cast on the second Wednesday of Decem-
vote was so close in California that one of the
n electors was chosen by "split tickets." The
ount was entirely devoid of incident, and Gen-
ld was duly proclaimed elected.

XXVI.

CLEVELAND.

At no time since the administration of Mr. Monroe have party names had less meaning than they conveyed during the four years preceding the election of 1884. During all that time, there was hardly a vote passed by either House of Congress in which members ranged themselves on party lines. There were no sharply defined party issues, and political matters were in such a condition that if any question of absorbing interest had arisen, there must have been very extensive changes of party association, if not complete reconstruction of both the great historical organizations. In the absence of such questions, men continued to act, each with his own party, merely as a matter of habit, and, up to the spring of 1884, there was nothing to portend the violence and fury with which the canvass of that year was to be conducted.

A brief survey of the leading events of the years 1881-'84 will indicate how little occurred that had an influence upon the result in the presidential year. There was, first of all, the dissension in the Republican party caused by some of Mr. Garfield's appointments, and the formation of two factions, one of which called itself "Stalwart" and stigmatized the other as "Half-breed." The assassination, the lingering sickness, and the death of President Garfield; the accession of Mr. Arthur, the scandal of the "Star route" mail contracts, and the still greater scandal of the trial of the assassin of the President, — these are chapters in our history which every patriotic student would gladly forget.

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only important legislation during Mr. Arthur's administration consisted of laws aimed at polygamy in Utah and at Chinese immigration; the creation of the Commission in 1882, and the passage of a new tariff law in 1883; and the Civil Service Reform Act. This was all, in one sense, political legislation, it was not, in the strict sense, party legislation. The subject, however, divided Congress nearly on party lines. In the Senate, only one Democrat voted for the Act, only two Republicans against it; while in the House of Representatives, fifteen Democrats and nine Republicans separated themselves from their respective parties. The Civil Service Reform Act was passed in the House by large majorities; but in the Senate, all the affirmative votes were given by Democrats, and in the House of Representatives, only seven of the forty-seven affirmative votes were given by Republicans. Neither of these important acts was regarded as a party measure to such an extent that any member lost standing by placing himself in opposition to the general opinion of his asso-

personal grounds; and New York gave to Grover Cleveland, the Democratic candidate for governor, the unprecedented majority of one hundred and ninety thousand, although the opposing candidate was Mr. Folger, the Secretary of the Treasury, who had been the Chief Judge of the New York Court of Appeals. These defeats were regarded as warnings to the Republicans that they could win the coming contest only by nominating good candidates, without the intervention of the "machine" and the "bosses."

A step in the direction of greater freedom within the party, and in curtailment of the powers sometimes exercised by leaders in disregard of the popular will, was taken at a meeting of the Republican National Committee held in 1883. An attempt was made so to change the "basis" of the National Convention, as to enlarge the influence of the States and communities giving Republican majorities, and to diminish correspondingly the relative strength of those parts of the country where the party was in a hopeless minority. Two propositions were submitted. According to the first, the National Convention would consist of delegates from each State as follows: (1) Four delegates at large; (2) One delegate for each Congress-District; (3) One delegate for each twelve thousand votes given in the State in 1880, for the Republican electoral ticket. The other plan proposed for each State: (1) Four delegates at large; (2) One delegate at large for each Republican Senator representing the State; (3) One delegate for each Congress-District; (4) One additional delegate for each district represented in Congress by a Republican. Each of these propositions was rejected, and the old basis of a National Convention was readopted.

But a radical change was made in the method of choos-

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gates, in that, for the first time, a time was pre-
for electing them, and the right of districts to
their own delegates was recognized and secured.
voted that the State conventions should be held
than thirty nor more than sixty days before the
meeting of the National Convention, and after
than twenty days' public, advertised notice. Dis-
legates were to be elected either by separate
conventions or by subdivision of the State con-

If separate conventions were to be held they
meet within fifteen days prior to the State con-
; and in any case their credentials were to be
and certified by district officers. By the first of
visions, security was given against the forestall-
the action of the National Convention by early
ions in some of the States; by the other, an
nity was given to minorities to make their influ-
t, and to prevent a majority in the State from
all opposition.

First national convention held in 1884, was that of

4. That in the enactment and vigorous execution of just laws, equality of rights, equality of burdens, equality of privileges, and equality of powers in all citizens, will be secured. To this end, we declare:—

5. That it is the duty of the government to immediately exercise its constitutional prerogative to regulate commerce among the States. The great instruments by which this commerce is carried on are transportation, money, and the transmission of intelligence. They are now mercilessly controlled by giant monopolies, to the impoverishment of labor, the crushing out of healthful competition, and the destruction of business security. We hold it, therefore, to be the imperative and immediate duty of Congress to pass all needful laws for the control and regulation of those great agents of commerce, in accordance with the oft-repeated decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

6. That these monopolies, which have exacted from enterprise such heavy tribute, have also inflicted countless wrongs upon the toiling millions of the United States; and no system of reform should commend itself to the support of the people which does not protect the man who earns his bread by the sweat of his face. Bureaus of labor-statistics must be established, both State and national; arbitration take the place of brute force in the settlement of disputes between employer and employed; the national eight-hour law be honestly enforced; the importation of foreign labor under contract be made illegal; and whatever practical reforms may be necessary for the protection of united labor must be granted, to the end that unto the toiler shall be given that proportion of the profits of the thing or value created which his labor bears to the cost of production.

7. That we approve and favor the passage of an Interstate Commerce bill. Navigable waters should be improved by the government, and be free.

8. We demand the payment of the bonded debt as it falls due; the election of United States senators by the direct vote of the people of their respective States; a graduated income tax; and a tariff, which is a tax upon the people, that shall be so levied as to bear as lightly as possible upon necessities. We denounce the present tariff as being largely in the interest of monopoly, and demand that it be speedily and radically reformed in the interest of labor, instead of capital.

9. That no further grants of public lands shall be made to cor-

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All enactments granting lands to corporations should be construed, and all land grants should be forfeited whereupon which the grants were made have not been strictly with. The lands must be held for homes for actual and must not be subject to purchase or control by non-foreigners or other speculators.

That we deprecate the discrimination of American legislation against the greatest of American industries, — agriculture, — it has been deprived of nearly all beneficial legislation, and to bear the brunt of taxation; and we demand for it the best care of government, and the just recognition of its importance in the development and advancement of our land; and we call on the American farmer to coöperate with us in our efforts to advance the national interests of the country and the people, and to break up monopoly in every shape, whenever and wherever it appears.

General Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, was nominated as candidate for President on the first vote. He received 122 votes, to 7 for Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, and 1 for Solon Chase, of Maine. The nomination of a candidate for Vice-President was left with the national convention, who adopted the candidate of the National, or Union, party, General A. M. West, of Mississippi.

"We point with pride to our history." We forced the remonetization of the silver dollar; prevented the refunding of the public debt into long-time bonds; secured the payment of the bonds, until "the best banking system the world ever saw," for robbing the producer, now totters because of its contracting foundation; we have stopped the wholesale destruction of the greenback currency, and secured a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States establishing forever the right of the people to issue their own money.

Notwithstanding all this, never in our history have the banks, land-grant railroads, and other monopolies been more insolent in their demands for further privileges — still more class legislation. In this emergency, the dominant parties are arrayed against the people, and are the abject tools of the corporate monopolies.

In the last Congress, they repealed over twelve million dollars of annual taxes for the banks, throwing the burden upon the people to pay, or pay interest thereon.

Both old parties in the present Congress vie with each other in their efforts to further repeal taxes in order to stop the payment of the public debt and save the banks whose charters they have renewed for twenty years. Notwithstanding the distress of business, the shrinkage of wages, and panic, they persist in locking up, on various pretexts, four hundred million dollars of money, every dollar of which the people pay interest upon, and need, and most of which should be promptly applied to pay bonds now payable.

The old parties are united — as they cannot agree what taxes to repeal — in efforts to squander the income of the government upon every pretext rather than pay the debt.

A bill has already passed the United States Senate making the banks a present of over fifty million dollars more of the people's money, in order to enable them to levy a still greater burden of interest taxes.

A joint effort is being made by the old party leaders to overthrow the sovereign constitutional power of the people to control their own financial affairs, and issue their own money, in order to forever enslave the masses to bankers and other business. The House of Representatives has passed bills reclaiming nearly one hundred million acres of lands granted to and forfeited by railroad companies. These bills have gone to the Senate, a body composed largely of aristocratic millionaires, who, according to their own party papers, generally purchased their elections in order to protect great monopolies which they represent. This body has thus far

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the people and the House, and refused to act upon these in the interest of the people.

Therefore we, the national party of the United States, in national convention assembled, this twenty-ninth day of May, A. D. declare:—

That we hold the late decision of the Supreme Court on the tender question to be a full vindication of the theory which our party has always advocated on the right and authority of Congress over the issue of legal tender notes, and we hereby pledge ourselves to uphold said decision, and to defend the Constitution against alterations or amendments intended to deprive the people of their rights or privileges conferred by that instrument. We demand the issue of such money in sufficient quantities to supply the demand of trade and commerce, in accordance with the increase of population and the development of our industries. We demand the substitution of greenbacks for national bank notes, the prompt payment of the public debt. We want that money which saved our country in time of war, and which has given it prosperity and happiness in peace. We condemn the retirement of fractional currency and the small denomination of greenbacks, and demand their restoration. We demand the issue of the hoards of money now locked up in the United States Treasury, by applying them to the payment of the public debt now due.

We denounce, as dangerous to our republican institutions,

4. We demand congressional regulation of interstate commerce. We denounce "pooling," stock watering, and discrimination in rates and charges, and demand that Congress shall correct these abuses, even, if necessary, by the construction of national railroads. We also demand the establishment of a government postal telegraph system.

5. All private property, all forms of money and obligations to pay money, should bear their just proportion of the public taxes. We demand a graduated income tax.

6. We demand the amelioration of the condition of labor, by enforcing the sanitary laws in industrial establishments, by the abolition of the convict labor system, by a rigid inspection of mines and factories; by a reduction of the hours of labor in industrial establishments, by fostering educational institutions, and by abolishing child labor.

7. We condemn all importations of contracted labor, made with a view of reducing to starvation wages the workingmen of this country, and demand laws for its prevention.

8. We insist upon a constitutional amendment reducing the terms of United States senators.

9. We demand such rules for the government of Congress as shall place all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and take away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President.

10. The question as to the amount of duties to be levied upon various articles of import has been agitated and quarrelled over, and has divided communities, for nearly a hundred years. It is not now, and never will be, settled, unless by the abolition of indirect taxation. It is a convenient issue, always raised when the people are excited over abuses in their midst. While we favor a wise revision of the tariff laws, with a view to raising a revenue from luxuries rather than necessities, we insist that, as an economic question, its importance is insignificant as compared with financial issues; for whereas we have suffered our worst panics under low and also under high tariffs, we have never suffered from a panic, nor seen our factories and workshops closed, while the volume of money in circulation was adequate to the needs of commerce. Give our farmers and manufacturers money as cheap as you now give it to our bankers, and they can pay high wages to labor, and compete with all the world.

11. For the purpose of testing the sense of the people upon the

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are in favor of submitting to a vote of the people an amendment to the Constitution in favor of suffrage regardless of race on the subject of the liquor traffic.

Disabled soldiers of the late war should be equitably pensioned and we denounce the policy of keeping a small army of pensioners, whose only business is to prevent, on technical grounds, deserving soldiers from obtaining justice from the government they helped to save.

Our name indicates, we are a national party, knowing no East, no North, no South. Having no sectional prejudice we can properly place in nomination for the high offices of the country candidates, men from any section of the Union.

We appeal to all people who believe in our principles, to aid us with their purse, pen, and votes.

The first vote for a candidate for President resulted as follows:— General Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, 99; Jesse Harper, of Illinois, 99; Solon Chase, of Maine, 99; Edward P. Allis, of Wisconsin, 1; David Davis, of Illinois, 1. General Butler was declared nominated; a motion to make the nomination unanimous was declared out of order though it was received with hisses and shouts.

General A. M. West, of Mississippi, was nominated Vice-President by acclamation.

ator John Sherman was supported by a compact body of Ohio Republicans. Senator George F. Edmunds, of Vermont, was a favorite candidate with many of those members of the party who regarded Civil Service Reform as the great issue. But the candidate who had the strongest, the most enthusiastic, and, as the event proved, the prevailing body of followers, was Mr. James G. Blaine, of Maine. This gentleman had been Secretary of State under General Garfield, and had been the President's most intimate friend, as well as his chief political adviser. He had narrowly missed the nomination in 1876 and again in 1880, on his own merits; and he was now regarded as the natural heir of the assassinated President. His own State supported him, but he did not have any considerable strength in New England, outside of Maine. But elsewhere, everywhere else, his partisans were numerous, enthusiastic, and devoted. From the northwest, the southwest, the Pacific coast States, from New York and Pennsylvania, they gathered, and they had even successfully disputed the claim of Ohio's and Illinois's "favorite sons" to united delegations. It was evident, before the convention met, that the supporters of Mr. Blaine and of General Arthur constituted a large majority of the delegates. It was also evident that Mr. Blaine was the leading candidate. His success was sure, unless all the opposing elements, those which were simply more friendly to other candidates, as well as that which was unalterably opposed to his candidacy, could be held together and concentrated upon one man.

The Convention met at Chicago on June 3. The National Committee had named ex-Senator Powell Clayton, of Arkansas, as the temporary Chairman of the convention. This selection was supposed to be in the interest of Mr. Blaine. A nomination of the Hon. John R.

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of Mississippi, a distinguished colored man, was
from the floor, and the convention, on a vote by
a, elected him to the position, by 481 votes to
n for Mr. Clayton. On the next day, no other
was transacted beyond the choice of the Hon.
Henderson, of Missouri, as permanent President.
e third day, the rules of the convention were
and adopted. One very important rule was
concerning the constitution of the national
re, and the election of future conventions. It
that "no person shall be a member of the com-
who is not eligible as a member of the Electoral
" This provision excludes from the committee
ns who hold offices of trust or profit under the
States, as well as all senators and representatives,
oves every opportunity to influence the action of
y directly through the elected or appointed offi-
e. The same rule provides that all delegates at
all be chosen by State conventions, and that in
gress-District the delegates shall be elected "in
way as the nomination of a member of Con-

the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens. The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation; and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government. And it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

2. We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished services in war and in peace have endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

3. In the administration of President Arthur, we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity; and we believe his eminent services are entitled to, and will receive, the hearty approval of every good citizen.

4. It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for revenue only, but that, in raising the requisite revenues for the government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries, and protection to the rights and wages of the laborers, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

5. Against the so-called economical system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our most earnest protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

6. The Republican party pledges itself to correct the irregularities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

7. We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the

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States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we therefore demand the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duties upon foreign wool, in that such industry shall have full and adequate protection. We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that an effort be made to unite all civilized nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all, the relative value of gold and silver coinage. The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between States is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently exercise the constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce.

The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and to the railways alike, the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor; the enforcement of the eight-hour law; a wise and judicious system of general education, by adequate appropriation from the national treasury wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere

pose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reformed legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

14. The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved, as far as possible, for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land-grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

15. The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war; and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the arrears act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions begin with the date of disability, and not with the date of the application.

16. The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs, — the policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the western hemisphere.

17. We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce. We call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

18. That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the *bona-fide* citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

19. That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our Territories, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical

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the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and necessary, if need be.

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, are one nation, and not a mere confederacy of States. The Government is supreme within the sphere of its national authority, and the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained, and which should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved, and the Union kept inviolate.

The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of the free ballot, an honest count, and correct return. We condemn the fraud and violence practised by the Democracy in the States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions; and we solemnly condemn the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all political rights.

A long session was held, at which the speeches

At an evening session, John A. Logan, of Illinois, was nominated for Vice-President by 779 votes to 7 for Lucius Fairchild, of Wisconsin, and 6 for Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana, and the convention adjourned.

Although there had been certain vague warnings in a part of the republican press that the party might forfeit the support of many of its members in case the convention should adopt a course contrary to that which the "reform element" of the party desired, yet no one seems to have been prepared for the extensive bolt which followed immediately upon the adjournment of the convention. Several important party organs, and a large number of prominent republicans, chiefly in the Eastern States, announced, formally, that they would not support the candidates nominated. Independent committees were at once organized in New York and Boston, for the purpose of concentrating the Republican opposition to Mr. Blaine, and these committees, which had the coöperation of committees and of independent voters in other cities, turned to the Democrats with assurances that if they would make nominations acceptable to the reformers, they could have all the support of those who were opposed to Mr. Blaine, and to what they deemed the reckless disregard of good political morals by the Republican convention.

This Republican revolt had a strong effect upon the action of the Democrats. While most of the candidates who had received votes for the nomination in 1880 were again in the field with supporters in considerable numbers,—Bayard, Thurman, Randall, and others,—Democratic public opinion had already fixed upon Grover Cleveland, Governor of New York, as the strongest candidate. He was the candidate who had obtained the enormous majority of 190,000 in 1882, and he had a large

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ty of the New York delegation, which was instructed by the State convention to act as a unit on all questions. He was, moreover, the favorite candidate of the Republican dissentients, who looked upon him as a reformer, and one who would carry into practice principles which he and they professed. There was, in New York, nevertheless, not a little opposition, chiefly of a personal nature, to Governor Cleveland, for the powerful organization of Tammany Hall was against him. The convention met at Chicago, on July 8, and effected a temporary organization, with Richard D. Hubbard of New York as chairman. The rules of the last Democratic convention were adopted with one modification, namely, a provision that after a State had given its vote for a candidate for President or Vice-President, it should not give its vote until the roll-call should be completed. The "two-thirds rule" was, of course, adopted with the understanding that if it was not adopted, the Tammany delegation would leave. The leader of the Tammany opposition to Grover Cleveland was John T. Hoffman, who endeavored to secure the adoption of a rule that if any member of a State delegation disputed the

speeches nominating candidates to the convention were made. At an evening session the following platform was reported and adopted:—

The Democratic party of the Union, through its representatives in national convention assembled, recognizes that, as the nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress, and old issues perish ; but the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain, and will ever remain, as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights ; the equality of all citizens before the law ; the reserved rights of the States ; and the supremacy of the Federal government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government. But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will. Otherwise, abuses grow, and the government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed, for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers. This is now the condition of the country ; hence, a change is demanded.

The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence. In practice it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party ; yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence, and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt. Therefore a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupu-

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contractors and shameless jobbers, who had bargained for profits or high office. The Republican party, during its stolen, and its bought tenures of power, has steadily declined in moral character and political capacity. Its platform is now a list of its past failures. It demands the restoration of our navy; it has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist. It calls upon Congress to remove the tariff under which American shipping has been depressed; it has increased and has continued these burdens. It professes the policy of giving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers; it has given away the people's heritage, till now a few railroads and a few alien aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area of all our farms between the two seas. It professes a policy for free institutions; it organized and tried to legalize a system of State elections by Federal troops. It professes a desire for free labor; it subjected American working-men to the competition of convict and imported contract labor. It professes to care for all who were disabled or died in the war, leaving widows and orphans; it left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounties and pensions. It professes a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff; it has increased and has continued them. Its own tariff commission concluded the need of more than twenty per cent. reduction; its Congress has made a reduction of less than four per cent. It professes the

yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes, which have paralyzed business, crippled industry, and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners. Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But, in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this government, taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice: all taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal government, economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation from custom-house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury, and bearing lightest on articles of necessity. We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff; and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the government economically administered.

The system of direct taxation, known as the "internal revenue," is a war tax. and, so long as the law continues, the money derived

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should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to the expenses of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers in the line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already established, and any surplus should be paid into the Treasury.

For an American continental policy, based upon more equal commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister Republics of North, Central, and South America, but entangling ourselves with none.

Give in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the United States, and a circulating medium convertible into such coin without loss.

Upholding the equality of all men before the law, we hold that the duty of the government, in its dealings with the people, to do equal and exact justice to all citizens, of whatever nationality, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count; and we recall to the memory of our people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Thirty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses, by which a reluctant Republican Administration was compelled to assent to legislation making it illegal the presence of troops at the poles, as the condition of that a Democratic administration will preserve liberty

most enlightened. It should, therefore, be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relation of capital and labor.

We believe that the public land ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domain, and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the general government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof.

In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that "the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith," we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits training, religion, or kindred, for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed.

The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of this government to protect with equal fidelity and vigilance the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad; and, to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization, issued by courts of competent jurisdiction, must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our own government and by all foreign powers. It is an imperative duty of this government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own government for any act done in his own country or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws; and no power exists in this government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

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Our country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy under Democratic administration. That policy has been one of indifference in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do no act hostile to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens. As the result of this policy, we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California and the adjacent Territory by purchase alone, and contrast these grand achievements of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a century.

The Federal government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to afford the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide

water. In a long period of Democratic rule and policy, our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping Great Britain. Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy, our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and the Stars and Stripes flag has almost been swept off the high seas. Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand for the people of the United States an American policy. Under Democratic rule and policy, our merchants and sailors, flying the Stars and Stripes, successfully searched out a market for the various products of American industry; under a quarter of a century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantages over

taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman, through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principles of republics, acquiescence in the will of the majority, that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the Federal government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength. Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States we offer to him, in his withdrawal from public cares, not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best of homage of freemen, — the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

With this statement of the hopes, principles and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change in administration is submitted to the people in calm confidence that the popular voice will announce in favor of new men and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

When the foregoing platform was reported, General B. F. Butler, of Massachusetts, proposed a substitute, a series of resolutions embodying certain ideas of his own, which he had previously offered to the Committee on Resolutions. The position which General Butler occupied was peculiar. He had, a few years before, abandoned the Republican party with which he had acted since the war of the Rebellion, and, after several failures, had been elected Governor of Massachusetts, in 1882, as a Democrat. He now appeared as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention, with the most of his fellow-delegates from Massachusetts, urging his nomination as a

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te for the presidency, and having already received nominations for that position. To a notification of these nominations, he had written a reply, in which he had adroitly omitted to say whether or not he had accepted the candidacy. His resolutions were rejected, 97 $\frac{1}{2}$, nays, 71 $\frac{1}{2}$, and the platform as reported, adopted without a division. General Butler's name was presented to the convention as a candidate, and received no votes.

vote was taken for a candidate for President after adoption of the platform, and resulted in something of a majority for Governor Cleveland, who, nevertheless, lost all the other candidates. A second vote was taken the following morning, and Mr. Cleveland's lead was greatly increased, but at the close of the roll call, he lacked 72 votes of the necessary two-thirds, and thus changes were made, and his nomination was defeated. The two votes were as follows:—

	1st	2d
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and George W. Glick, of Kansas, — but the names were all withdrawn, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, was nominated by a unanimous vote, and the convention adjourned.

Two conventions were held by Prohibitionists. The first, which seems to have been not a representative body, but rather a mass convention of the whole party, was held at Chicago, June 19, under the name of the American Prohibition National Convention. It was presided over by J. L. Barlow, of Connecticut, and adopted the following platform : —

We hold: 1. That ours is a Christian and not a heathen nation, and that the God of the Christian Scriptures is the author of civil government.

2. That the Bible should be associated with books of science and literature in all our educational institutions.

3. That God requires and man needs a sabbath.

4. That we demand the prohibition of the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks.

5. That the charters of all secret lodges granted by our Federal and State legislatures should be withdrawn and their oaths prohibited by law.

6. We are opposed to putting prison labor or depreciated contract labor from foreign countries in competition with free labor to benefit manufacturers, corporations, and speculators.

7. We are in favor of a thorough revision and enforcement of the law concerning patents and inventions, for the prevention and punishment of frauds either upon inventors or the general public.

8. We hold to and will vote for woman suffrage.

9. We hold that civil equality secured to all American citizens by articles thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen of our amended national constitution should be preserved inviolate, and the same equality should be extended to Indians and Chinamen.

10. That international differences should be settled by arbitration.

11. That land and other monopolies should be discouraged.

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at the general government should furnish the people with
and sound currency.

at it should be the settled policy of the government to
tariffs and taxes as rapidly as the necessities of revenue
business interests will allow.

at polygamy should be immediately suppressed by law,
the Republican party is censurable for its long neglect of
respect to this evil.

and, finally, we demand for the American people the abol-
tional colleges, and a direct vote for President and Vice-
of the United States.

convention nominated Samuel C. Pomeroy, of
for President, by 72 votes, to 12 for all others,
nated John A. Conant, of Connecticut, for Vice-
t. It does not appear that an electoral ticket
nted at the polls in any State in support of the
of this convention.

vention of the recognized National Prohibition
s held at Pittsburg, July 23. William Daniel,
and, was the temporary Chairman, and Samuel
f Michigan, the permanent President of the con-
which adopted the following platform:—

manufactures, and commerce; endangering the public peace; causing desecration of the Sabbath; corrupting our politics, legislation, and administration of the laws; shortening lives; impairing health; and diminishing productive industry; causing education to be neglected and despised; nullifying the teachings of the Bible, the church, and the school, the standards and guides of our fathers and their children in the founding and growth under God of our widely extended country; and, while imperilling the perpetuity of our civil and religious liberties, are baleful fruits by which we know that these laws are alike contrary to God's laws, and contravene our happiness; and we call upon our fellow-citizens to aid in the repeal of these laws and in the legal suppression of this baneful liquor traffic.

The fact that, during the twenty-four years in which the Republican party has controlled the general government and that of many of the States, no effort has been made to change this policy; that Territories have been created from the national domain, and governments from them established, and States admitted into the Union, in no instance in either of which has this traffic been forbidden, or the people of these Territories or States been permitted to prohibit it; that there are now over two hundred thousand distilleries, breweries, wholesale and retail dealers in these drinks, holding certificates and, claiming the authority of government for the continuation of a business which is so destructive to the moral and material welfare of the people, together with the fact that they have turned a deaf ear to remonstrance and petition for the correction of this abuse of civil government, is conclusive that the Republican party is insensible to or impotent for the redress of those wrongs, and should no longer be entrusted with the powers and responsibilities of government; that although this party, in its late national convention, was silent on the liquor question, not so were its candidates, Messrs. Blaine and Logan. Within the year past, Mr. Blaine has publicly recommended that the revenues derived from the liquor traffic shall be distributed among the States, and Senator Logan has by bill proposed to devote these revenues to the support of schools. Thus, both virtually recommend the perpetuation of the traffic, and that the State and its citizens shall become partners in the liquor crime.

The fact that the Democratic party has, in its national deliverances of party policy, arrayed itself on the side of the drink makers

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by declaring against the policy of prohibition of such under the false name of "sumptuary laws," and, when in some of the States, in refusing remedial legislation, and, of refusing to permit the creation of a board of inquiry to state and report upon the effects of this traffic, proves that the Democratic party should not be entrusted with power or place. There can be no greater peril to the nation than the existing union of the Republican and Democratic parties for the liquor traffic. Experience shows that any party not openly opposed to the traffic, and engage in this competition, will court the favor of the low classes, will barter away the public morals, purity of government, and every trust and object of good government, for power; and patriots and good citizens should find in this a sufficient cause for immediate withdrawal from all connection with their party.

We favor reforms in the administration of the government, abolition of all sinecures, useless offices and officers, in the selection of the people of officers of the government instead of appointment by the President. That competency, honesty, and sobriety be essential qualifications for holding civil office, and we oppose the employment of such persons from mere administrative offices, except as it may be absolutely necessary to secure effectiveness in the execution of issues on which the general administration of the government has been entrusted to a party.

Collection of revenue from alcohol, liquors, and tobacco.

of the principle of the Declaration of Independence, from which our government has grown to be the government of fifty-five millions of people, and a recognized power among nations, that any person or people shall or may be excluded from residence or citizenship with all others who may desire the benefits which our institutions confer upon the oppressed of all nations.

That while there are important reforms that are demanded for purity of administration and the welfare of the people, their importance sinks into insignificance when compared with the reform of the drink traffic, which annually wastes eight hundred million dollars of the wealth created by toil and thrift, and drags down thousands of families from comfort to poverty; which fills jails, penitentiaries, insane asylums, hospitals, and institutions for dependency; which destroys the health, saps industry, and causes loss of life and property to thousands in the land, lowers intellectual and physical vigor, dulls the cunning hand of the artisan, is the chief cause of bankruptcy, insolvency, and loss in trade, and, by its corrupting power, endangers the perpetuity of free institutions.

That Congress should exercise its undoubted power, and prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages in the District of Columbia, in the Territories of the United States, and in all places over which the government has exclusive jurisdiction; that hereafter no State shall be admitted into the Union until its constitution shall expressly prohibit polygamy and the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages.

We earnestly call the attention of the laborer and mechanic, the miner and manufacturer, and ask investigation of the baneful effects upon labor and industry caused by the needless liquor business, which will be found the robber who lessens wages and profits, the destroyer of happiness and the family welfare of the laboring man, and that labor and all legitimate industry demand deliverance from the taxation and loss which this traffic imposes, and that no tariff or other legislation can so healthily stimulate production or increase a demand for capital and labor, or produce so much of comfort and content, as the suppressing of this traffic would bring to the laboring man, mechanic, or employer of labor throughout the land.

That the activity and coöperation of the women of America for the promotion of temperance has, in all the history of the past, been a strength and encouragement which we gratefully acknowledge and record. In the later and present phase of the movement

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prohibition of the licensed traffic by the abolition of the saloon, the purity of purpose and method, the earnestness, intelligence, and devotion of the mothers and daughters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union has been eminently blessed of God. Kansas and Iowa have been given her as "sheaves of wheat"; and the education and arousing of the public mind, the demand for constitutional amendment now prevailing, are the fruit of her prayers and labors, and we rejoice to have our women unite with us in sharing the labor that shall bring about the abolition of this traffic to the polls, she shall join in the praise of God, from whom all blessings flow," when by law our men and friends shall be free from legal drink temptation. We believe in the civil and political equality of the sexes, and we believe that the ballot in the hand of woman is a right for her protection, and that she will prove a powerful ally for the abolition of the drinking traffic, for the execution of law, the promotion of reform in civil affairs, the removal of corruption in public life; and thus believing, we support the practical outworking of this reform to the discomfiture of the Prohibition party in the several States, according to the opinion of public sentiment in those States; that gratefully we acknowledge and praise God for the presence of his Spirit, for his wise and pure counsels and granting the success which has been achieved in the progress of temperance reform, and, looking to the future, when all wisdom and help come, we ask the voters of the several States to support the cause of the temperance reform.

much of the spirit out of the party. These men would not be wooed back into the ranks of their former associates. They repeated the old charges against Mr. Blaine, and added to them objections based upon his course as Secretary of State, which, they insisted, had a tendency to involve the country in war. On the other hand, serious personal accusations were brought against Mr. Cleveland. The Mugwumps openly supported Mr. Cleveland, but for the most part asserted that they were still Republicans, that they opposed Mr. Blaine only, and that Mr. Cleveland was "better than his party." The canvass was, from first to last, conducted on personal grounds; and in spite of the earnest efforts of many Republicans to introduce questions of principle, to direct public attention to the records and the tendencies of the two parties, and thus to change the character of the canvass, their efforts were unavailing.

This was not the only peculiarity of the election contest. The candidacy of General Butler was at times a source of uneasiness to the Democrats, who feared that the support of him by Tammany leaders and other malcontents in New York might result in the loss of that State. But before the day of election, Tammany yielded, and gave its support to Mr. Cleveland. On the other hand, the Republicans were greatly weakened by the Prohibition party; for that organization successfully invited many Republicans who would not support Mr. Blaine, and who could not bring themselves to the point of voting for a Democrat, to give their votes to Mr. St. John.

It would not be true to say, in spite of all these disturbing conditions, that the canvass was not an enthusiastic one on both sides. The Republican defection cer-

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chilled and well nigh paralyzed the party in Massachusetts, and it caused a serious loss in other New England States and in New York. But in the rest of the country the defection was not great. In the West, enthusiasm for Mr. Blaine was almost unprecedented. During the canvass he made a tour from his home in Maine through many of the States of the West, and was everywhere welcomed and cheered by enormous crowds of people everywhere.

The Democrats, jubilant over the accession of a contingent of voters, and hopeful, for the first time in many years, of returning to power, made a bold and desperate fight.

All observers could see that the contest was to be a close one. The whole number of electoral votes was to be 201. The Democrats, as usual, were sure of the "Solid South" with 158 votes, and they accordingly expected to gain only 48 votes in the North. The October election in Ohio showed that in the States usually Republican there was likely to be no change; in short, the Democrats could depend upon all the Northern States (Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Indiana).

of their number made an address to the candidate, in the course of which he said in effect that the Republican canvass was directed against "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." The phrase was immediately used with great effect to drive back the Irish supporters of Mr. Blaine into the Democratic ranks. He had not used the phrase, — indeed, it is doubtful if, in the confusion, he even heard it as it was uttered; but it was employed as though it had been an expression of his own, and there is scarcely a doubt that it changed enough votes in New York, which was most closely divided, to change the whole result, and to elect Mr. Cleveland instead of Mr. Blaine, — for the vote of New York was decisive.

The excitement of the canvass did not die out with the election, for the result was in great doubt. The early returns showed that Mr. Cleveland had carried all the Southern States, together with Connecticut, New Jersey, and Indiana. In all the other Northern States, except New York, the Republicans had been successful. The vote in New York was so close that both parties claimed its electoral vote for several days, and the corrected returns as they came in, showing differences from the first hasty returns of a score or two, first in favor of one party, then in favor of the other, were studied with intense anxiety. But the final result, a plurality of 1149 in a total vote of nearly 1,200,000, ended all doubt, and gave a President to the Democratic party for the first time since the close of Mr. Buchanan's administration.

No State had been admitted since 1876, but a new apportionment on the basis of the census of 1880 had increased the number of electors. The result of the popular vote, and of the vote by electors, was as follows: —

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STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.				ELECTORAL VOTE.	
	Grover Cleveland, New York.	James G. Blaine, Maine.	Benjamin F. Butler, Massachusetts.	John F. St. John, Kansas.	Cleveland and Hendricks.	Blaine and Logan.
Connecticut	52,140	72,209	3,853	2,160	—	6
Hampshire	39,183	43,249	552	1,571	—	4
Massachusetts	17,831	39,514	785	1,752	—	4
Michigan	122,481	146,724	24,433	10,026	—	14
Minnesota	12,891	19,030	422	928	—	4
Montana	67,199	66,923	1,688	2,306	6	—
New York	563,154	562,005	16,994	25,016	36	—
New Jersey	127,796	123,440	3,496	6,159	9	—
Pennsylvania	392,766	473,804	16,992	15,283	—	20
Rhode Island	16,964	12,951	6	55	8	—
Texas	96,932	85,699	531	2,794	8	—
Vermont	185,497	139,356	—	188	12	—
Virginia	67,317	63,096	610	939	6	—
North Carolina	142,952	125,068	—	454	11	—
South Carolina	69,890	21,733	—	—	9	—
Georgia	94,667	48,603	145	195	12	—
Florida	31,766	28,031	—	72	4	—
Alabama	93,951	59,591	878	612	10	—
California	76,510	43,509	—	—	9	—

The count of electoral votes took place on February 11, 1885, in accordance with a joint resolution adopted by both Houses of Congress without opposition. The resolution was in the identical words of the first part of the resolution of 1881, and simply provided for the opening of the certificates by two tellers on the part of each House, and a declaration of the result by the President of the Senate. The count was undisturbed by any event calling for notice.

XXVII.

TWO GREAT QUESTIONS SETTLED.

ennial period which completed the first century of the Constitution was distinguished by the passage of acts of constitutional importance. By one of these the method of counting the electoral votes was fixed on principles so reasonable and equitable that it seems no reason to apprehend that it will be changed, so long as the system of electing the President indirectly is pursued. Thus the famous *case* of the Constitution has been supplied so far as it could be done without a formal amendment, which is necessary so long as parties are willing to abide by a settlement of a much disputed point, and which could not have been adopted were either party opposed to it. By the

House of Representatives. The Constitution conferred upon Congress the duty of designating what officer should act as President in such cases. There was, from the beginning, a doubt if the President *pro tempore* of the Senate, or the Speaker, was an "officer," within the meaning of the Constitution. But certain considerations of personal politics at the time the act was passed, caused Congress to pass over the members of the Cabinet who were the natural successors of the President and Vice-President, in case of vacancy, and to fix upon the President *pro tempore* of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Fortunately, the case has never occurred which called for an application of the law of 1791. Nevertheless, on more than one occasion the country was perilously near a crisis, owing to the fact that the death of one person would cause the presidency to lapse, since no one then held the position either of President *pro tempore* or of Speaker.

It was this consideration rather than the doubt if the law of 1791 conformed to the Constitution, that led to the change. Another reason was that neither of the congressional officers designated for the succession, is necessarily or invariably a member of the party which has been successful in electing the President; and it is universally admitted that political fair dealing demands that the party which has carried the election shall not be deprived of its victory by the death of the President and Vice-President.

The Presidential Succession bill was reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, of the Senate, as long ago as June 19, 1882. It was considered and passed January 19, 1883; but it was not reached in the House of Representatives, and the Forty-seventh Congress came to an end on the 4th of March, of that year. A bill with iden-

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provisions was passed by the Senate on December 5, without a division. It was taken up January 6, by the House of Representatives, and, after several proposed amendments had been rejected, the bill was passed as it came from the Senate by a vote of 185 to 77. An affirmative vote was given by 146 Democrats and 39 Republicans; the negative by 76 Republicans and 2 Democrats. The act was approved January 18, 1886, in the following words:—

enacted, etc., that in case of the removal, death, resignation, or inability of both the President and Vice-President of the United States, the Secretary of State, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation, or inability, then the Secretary of the Treasury, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation, or inability, then the Secretary of War, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation, or inability, then the Attorney General, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation, or inability, then the Postmaster-General, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation, or inability, then the Secretary of the Navy, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation, or inability,

SECTION 3. That sections 146, 147, 148, 149, and 150 of the revised statutes are hereby repealed.

The final settlement of the mode of counting the electoral votes stands as Chapter 9 of the Acts of the Forty Ninth Congress, approved February 3, 1887. Its history is even less eventful than that of the Presidential Succession Act, though agreement upon the terms of the bill was only reached after much consideration, many amendments and the work of a conference committee. Into this act, as will be seen from an examination of its provisions, has been introduced the principle that a State may finally determine every contest arising out of a presidential election. Such determination must be made in accordance with a law passed before the electors are chosen, and the decision must have been made at least six days before the meeting of the electors; but under these conditions the two Houses of Congress cannot reverse the decision so reached. The only case in which such a determination can be subverted, is when there is a conflict of tribunals, and the two houses cannot agree in deciding which of them is the lawful tribunal. As to votes not made secure by a judicial determination, the general principle is that none can be rejected except by concurrent vote of the two Houses. This is different from the principle of the old "twenty-second joint rule," which allowed either House to reject votes. The act in full is as follows:—

Be it enacted, etc., that the electors of each State shall meet and give their votes on the second Monday in January next following their appointment, at such place in each State as the Legislature of such State shall direct.

SECTION 2. That if any State shall have provided, by laws enacted prior to the day fixed for the appointment of the electors, for its final determination of any controversy or contest concerning the appointment of all or any of the electors of such State, by ju-

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other methods or procedure, and such determination has been made at least six days before the time fixed for the meeting of the electors, such determination made pursuant to the laws so existing on said day, and made at least six days prior to the time of meeting of the electors, shall be conclusive, and shall govern in the counting of the electoral votes as provided in this constitution, as hereinafter regulated, so far as the ascertainment of the electors appointed by such State is concerned.

SECTION 3. That it shall be the duty of the executive of each State, as soon as practicable after the conclusion of the appointment of electors in such State, by the final ascertainment under and in accordance with the laws of such State providing for such ascertainment, to communicate under the seal of the State, to the Secretary of the United States, a certificate of such ascertainment of the electors appointed, setting forth the names of such electors and the result of the ascertainment, under the laws of such State, of the number of votes given or cast for each person for whose appointment any and all votes have been given or cast; and it shall be the duty of the executive of each State to deliver to the electors of such State, on or before the day on which they are required, by the preceding section, to meet, the same certificate, under the seal of the State; and such certificate shall be signed and transmitted by the electors at the same time and in the same manner as is provided by law for transmitting by such

SECTION 4. That Congress shall be in session on the second Wednesday in February succeeding every meeting of the electors. The Senate and House of Representatives shall meet in the hall of the House of Representatives at the hour of one o'clock in the afternoon, on that day, and the President of the Senate shall be their presiding officer. Two tellers shall be previously appointed on the part of the Senate, and two on the part of the House of Representatives, to whom shall be handed, as they are opened by the President of the Senate, all the certificates and papers purporting to be the certificates of the electoral vote, which certificates and papers shall be opened, presented, and acted upon in the alphabetical order of the States, beginning with the letter A; and said tellers, having then read the same in the presence and hearing of the two houses, shall make a list of the votes as they shall appear from the said certificates, and the votes having been ascertained and counted in the manner and according to the rules in this act provided, the result of the same shall be delivered to the President of the Senate, who shall thereupon announce the state of the vote, which announcement shall be deemed a sufficient declaration of the persons, if any, elected President and Vice-President of the United States, and, together with a list of the votes, be entered on the journals of the two houses. Upon such reading of any such certificate or paper, the President of the Senate shall call for objections, if any. Every objection shall be made in writing, and shall state clearly and concisely, and without argument, the ground thereof, and shall be signed by at least one senator and one member of the House of Representatives before the same shall be received. When all objections so made to any vote or paper from a State shall have been received and read, the Senate shall thereupon withdraw, and such objections shall be submitted to the Senate for its decision; and the speaker of the House of Representatives shall, in like manner, submit such objections to the House of Representatives for its decision; and no electoral vote or votes from any State which shall have been regularly given by electors, whose appointment has been lawfully certified to according to Section 8 of this act, from which but one return has been received, shall be rejected; but the two Houses concurrently may reject the vote or votes when they agree that such vote or votes have not been so regularly given by electors whose appointment has been so certified. If more than one return or paper purporting to be a return from a State shall have been

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by the President of the Senate, those votes, and those which shall be counted which shall have been regularly given by the electors who are shown by the determination mentioned in Section 2 of this act, to have been appointed, if the determination in such case provided for shall have been made, or by such successor or substitutes, in case of a vacancy in the board of electors ascertained, as have been appointed to fill such vacancy in accordance with the laws provided by the laws of the State; but in case there shall be a question which of two or more of such State authorities determining what electors have been appointed, as mentioned in Section 2 of this act, is the lawful tribunal of such State, the votes regularly given of those electors, and those only, whose title as electors the two houses, acting separately, shall concurrently decide is supported by the decision of such State so authorized by its laws; and in case of more than one return or paper purporting to be a return from a State, if there shall have been no such determination in the State aforesaid, then those votes, and those only, shall be counted which the two houses shall concurrently decide were cast by lawful electors appointed in accordance with the laws of the State, unless the two houses, acting separately, shall concurrently decide such votes not to be the lawful votes of the lawfully appointed electors of such State. But if the two houses shall agree in respect of the counting of such votes, then

tion or question five minutes, and not more than once; but after such debate shall have lasted two hours, it shall be the duty of the presiding officer of each house to put the main question without further debate.

SECTION 7. Such joint meeting shall not be dissolved until the count of electoral votes shall be completed and the result declared; and no recess shall be taken unless a question shall have arisen in regard to counting any such votes, or otherwise under this act, in which case it shall be competent for either house, acting separately, in the manner hereinbefore provided, to direct a recess of such house not beyond the next calendar day, Sunday excepted, at the hour of ten o'clock in the forenoon. But if the counting of the electoral votes and the declaration of the result shall not have been completed before the fifth calendar day next after such first meeting of the two houses, no further or other recess shall be taken by either house.

During the same period of four years which witnessed the passage of these two important acts, propositions to amend the Constitution relative to the Executive Department were introduced in unusual number and variety. Some of the old suggestions were received, such as the lengthening of the term, forbidding reelection, and changing the mode of election so that voters would cast their votes directly and without the intervention of electors. Other schemes, some of them highly fanciful, were added to the list. But not one of them all, old or new, had even the success implied in a favorable report by a committee; and no proposition of amendment excited the smallest interest on the part of the general public.

XXVIII.

THE SECOND HARRISON.

A political party acquires control of the executive
ment of the government after passing twenty-four
the cold shade of the Opposition, a redistribu-
offices is naturally the matter that first engages
tion. Mr. Cleveland, entering upon the duties of
at, found himself in a peculiar position. He owed
on as much to a body of dissident Republicans
Democratic party. His "mugwump" support-
for the most part thorough believers in the prin-
civil service reform, and had supported him in
of that he agreed with them on that issue. They
ally opposed to a "clean sweep" of the appoint-
ers of the government. On the other hand, the
of his supporters regarded the officers as the

publicans controlled that branch of Congress during Mr. Cleveland's term of office. The Senate usually acquiesced in the removals, and confirmed the President's appointments; and before his term had half expired, it had concurred with the Democratic House of Representatives in repealing the Tenure of Office Act, which had been devised to limit President Johnson's power of removal from office, and which had, in a modified form, been retained on the statute book ever since.

Although the Senate interposed no great obstacles in the way of the President's distribution of the offices according to his pleasure, it set up an effectual barrier to the enactment of legislation of a political character. There was no serious attempt to draw up the two great parties in line of battle during the continuance of the Forty-ninth Congress. The party wrangling took place for the most part over the executive acts of the President, the Democrats upholding and the Republicans denouncing the disposition he made of the offices, and his use of the veto power, which he exercised with unexampled freedom. Inasmuch as a large number of the bills returned to Congress without the approval of the President were private pension bills, the effort was made, not without a measure of success, to represent Mr. Cleveland as but a half-hearted sympathizer with the soldiers; and the accusation that the interests of the former defenders of the flag were regarded by him in a too calculating spirit was used against him in the ensuing canvass.

But all other political questions were thrust completely out of sight by the unusual and startling act of the President at the beginning of the Fiftieth Congress. The question of the tariff had been brought forward during the Forty-ninth Congress in the so-called "Morrison bill," — Mr. Morrison of Illinois was the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, — but the division in the

precedent, omitted all
review of government
national relations during
whole document to a
The party lines were found
detected in Mr. Cleveland
principle of a protective
to defend the system of
policies for a quarter of
making a long sojourn in
an American newspaper
Cleveland's argument in
Republican side of the discus
"Paris message," as it was
Republican defence of the
Democrats recognized in the Pro
move forward to the attack.
The leaders resolved to be
ences. Those who would
Democracy must be coerced
driven out of the camp. The
Democratic members of the Way
pared under the leadership

of the administration and the party to bestow. The party became so well united in the support of the Mills bill that when that measure came up on its passage in the House of Representatives, only four Democrats voted against it. When that vote was given, on July 21, 1888, the great conventions had already been held, and the candidates were before the people.

Six months before the meeting of the nominating conventions it seemed to be certain that the presidential contest of 1888 would be between the same candidates who had been pitted against each other in 1884, — Cleveland and Blaine. The President made no public manifestation of his wish to be nominated for reëlection, but it was not necessary that he should do so. It appeared to be the well-nigh universal wish of his party that he should be again the leader of their forces, and he was understood to be entirely willing to accept the position.

On the other hand, the desire of the Republicans that Mr. Blaine should head the ticket once more found overwhelming expression among them. The unanimity of sentiment was surprising. It is probably safe to say that had the delegates to the convention been elected in December, 1887, there would not have been chosen a dozen in all the country who would have preferred any other candidate to Mr. Blaine. Great, therefore, was the confusion into which the party was thrown by the withdrawal of Mr. Blaine from the contest. On January 25, 1888, he addressed, from Florence, Italy, a letter to the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, in which, on account of "considerations entirely personal to myself," he announced that his name would not be presented to the national convention. At the same time he congratulated the party upon its cheering prospects, foretold that the tariff was to be the great issue of the canvass, and expressed confidence that the result could not be in doubt.

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icans were dismayed by this letter, for while they
ed that it was a genuine and sincere refusal to
the nomination, yet many of his friends, in the
ness of their wish that he should be again the can-
persuaded themselves that he would accept the
e of the party if it were to be expressed with great
ty. But while these excessively zealous cham-
sisted in their purpose to choose and send to
vention delegates who were for Mr. Blaine, "first,
all the time," the acceptance of his withdrawal
alty by the party at large resulted in the coming
of many candidates. The unwillingness of Mr.
most ardent friends to give up the hope of nomi-
him placed that gentleman in a position of em-
ment from which he extricated himself by a second
ated at Paris, May 17. He had learned that some
former supporters had not taken his Florence letter
olutely conclusive in ultimate and possible con-
es," as he had intended it to be; and on the
of it canvasses had been begun for other candi-
Therefore, if the nomination could by any chance

The Union Labor Convention was made up of about two hundred and twenty delegates, representing twenty States. S. F. Norton was the temporary chairman, and John Seitz the permanent president. The following platform was reported by the Committee on Resolutions, and adopted after a long discussion : —

General discontent prevails on the part of the wealth-producer. Farmers are suffering from a poverty which has forced most of them to mortgage their estates, and the prices of products are so low as to offer no relief, except through bankruptcy, and laborers are sinking into greater dependence. Strikes are resorted to without bringing relief, because of the inability of employers in many cases to pay living wages, while more and more are driven into the street. Business men find collections almost impossible, and, meantime, hundreds of millions of idle public money, which is needed for relief, is locked up in the United States Treasury, or placed without interest in favored banks in grim mockery of distress. Land monopoly flourishes as never before, and more owners of the soil are daily becoming tenants. Great transportation corporations still succeed in extorting their profits on watered stock through unjust charges. The United States Senate has become an open scandal, its membership being purchased by the rich in open defiance of the popular will. Various efforts are made to squander the public money, which are designed to empty the Treasury without paying the public debt. Under these and other alarming conditions we appeal to the people of our country to come out of old party organizations, whose indifference to the public welfare is responsible for this distress, and aid the Union Labor party to repeal existing class legislation, and relieve the distress of our industries by establishing the following principles : —

Land. — While we believe that the proper solution of the financial question will greatly relieve those now in danger of losing their homes by mortgages and foreclosures, and enable all industrious persons to secure a home as the highest result of civilization, we oppose land monopoly in every form, demand the forfeiture of unearned grants, the limitation of land ownership, and such other legislation as will stop speculations in lands, and holding it unused from those whose necessities require it.

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...ve the earth was made for the people, and not to enable
...stocracy to subsist through rents, upon the toil of the
...and that corners in land are as bad as corners in food,
...those who are not residents or citizens should not be
...own lands in the United States. A homestead should
...to a limited extent, from execution or taxation.

...rtation. — The means of communication and transporta-
...be owned by the people, as is the United States postal

— The establishment of a national monetary system in the
...the producer, instead of the speculator and usurer, by
...circulating medium, in necessary quantity and full legal
...all be issued directly to the people, without the interven-
...banks, or loaned to citizens upon land security at a low rate
...to relieve them from extortions of usury, and enable
...control the money supply. Postal savings banks should
...hed. While we have free coinage of gold, we should
...coinage of silver. We demand the immediate applica-
...the money in the United States Treasury to the pay-
...the bonded debt, and condemn the further issue of inter-
...g bonds, either by the National Government or by States,
...e, or municipalities.

— Arbitration should take the place of strikes and other
...thods of settling labor disputes. The letting of con-

United States Senate. — We demand a constitutional amendment making United States Senators elective by a direct vote of the people.

Contract Labor. — We demand the strict enforcement of laws prohibiting the importation of subjects of foreign countries under contract.

Chinese. — We demand the passage and enforcement of such legislation as will absolutely exclude the Chinese from the United States.

Woman Suffrage. — The right to vote is inherent in citizenship, irrespective of sex, and is properly within the province of State legislation.

Paramount Issues. — The paramount issues to be solved in the interests of humanity are the abolition of usury, monopoly, and trusts, and we denounce the Democratic and Republican parties for creating and perpetuating these monstrous evils.

A. J. Streeter, of Illinois, was nominated for President, by acclamation. Samuel Evans, of Texas, was nominated for Vice-President on the first trial. He received 124 votes to 44 for T. P. Rynders, of Pennsylvania, and 32 for Charles R. Cunningham, of Arkansas.

The United Labor party held what the Chairman of the National Committee said was rather a conference than a convention. The number in attendance was small. The chairman, both temporary and permanent, was William B. Ogden, of Kentucky, and the Rev. Edward McGlynn, of New York, was the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

The following platform was reported and adopted: —

We, the delegates of the United Labor party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, hold that the corruptions of government and the impoverishment of the masses result from neglect of the self-evident truths proclaimed by the founders of this Republic, that all men are created equal, and are endowed with inalienable rights. We aim at the abolition of the system which compels men to pay their fellow-creatures for the use of the

and its products. This increased taxation of land values must, while relieving the working farmer and small homestead owner of the undue burdens now imposed upon them, make it unprofitable to hold land for speculation, and thus throw open abundant opportunities for the employment of labor and the building up of homes. We would do away with the present unjust and wasteful system of finance which piles up hundreds of millions of dollars in treasury vaults while we are paying interest on an enormous debt ; and we would establish in its stead a monetary system in which a legal tender circulating medium should be issued by the government, without the intervention of banks.

We wish to abolish the present unjust and wasteful system of ownership of railroads and telegraphs by private corporations, — a system which, while failing to supply adequately public needs, impoverishes the farmer, oppresses the manufacturer, hampers the merchant, impedes travel and communication, and builds up enormous fortunes and corrupting monopolies that are becoming more powerful than the government itself. For this system we would substitute government ownership and control for the benefit of the whole people instead of private profit.

While declaring the foregoing to be the fundamental principles and aims of the United Labor party, and while conscious that no reform can give effectual and permanent relief to labor that does not involve the legal recognition of equal rights to natural opportunities, we, nevertheless, as measures of relief from some of the evil effects of ignoring those rights, favor such legislation as may tend to reduce the hours of labor, to prevent the employment of children of tender years, to avoid the competition of convict labor with honest industry, to secure the sanitary inspection of tenements, factories, and mines, and to put an end to the abuse of conspiracy laws.

We desire also to simplify the procedure of our courts and diminish the expense of legal proceedings, that the poor may therein be placed on an equality with the rich, and the long delays which now result in scandalous miscarriages of justice may be prevented. Since the ballot is the only means by which, in our Republic, the redress of political and social grievances is to be sought, we especially and emphatically declare for the adoption of what is known as the Australian system of voting, in order that the effectual

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the ballot, and the relief of candidates for public office from the heavy expenses now imposed upon them, may prevent the use of intimidation, do away with practical discriminations in favor of the rich and unscrupulous, and lessen the pernicious influence of money in politics.

We denounce the Democratic and Republican parties as hopelessly and shamelessly corrupt, and, by reason of their affiliation with the politics, equally unworthy of the suffrages of those who are weary of public plunder; we therefore require of those who act with us that they sever all connection with both.

In furtherance of these aims, we solicit the coöperation of all patriotic men and women who, sick of the degradation of politics, desire by constitutional methods to establish justice, to preserve liberty, to extend the influence of fraternity, and to elevate humanity.

Mr. H. Cowdry, of Illinois, was nominated for President, and W. H. T. Wakefield, of Kansas, for Vice-President.

The National Prohibition party began its convention at St. Louis on May 20. The gathering was a large one. It was estimated that there were at least four thousand members of the party in attendance on the convention, and that the number of delegates was about 1,000.

The Prohibition party, in National Convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all power in government, do hereby declare : —

1. That the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages should be made public crimes, and punished as such.

2. That such prohibition must be secured through amendments of our National and State constitutions, enforced by adequate laws adequately supported by administrative authority ; and to this end the organization of the Prohibition party is imperatively demanded in State and Nation.

3. That any form of license, taxation, or regulation of the liquor traffic is contrary to good government ; that any party which supports regulation, license, or tax enters into alliance with such traffic, and becomes the actual foe of the State's welfare ; and that we arraign the Republican and Democratic parties for their persistent attitude in favor of the licensed iniquity, whereby they oppose the demand of the people for prohibition, and, through open complicity with the liquor cause, defeat the enforcement of law.

4. For the immediate abolition of the internal revenue system, whereby our national government is deriving support from our greatest national vice.

5. That, an adequate public revenue being necessary, it may properly be raised by impost duties and by an equitable assessment upon the property and the legitimate business of the country, but import duties should be so reduced that no surplus shall be accumulated in the treasury ; and that the burdens of taxation shall be removed from foods, clothing, and other comforts and necessities of life, and imposed on such other articles of import as will give protection both to the manufacturing employee and the producing laborer against the competition of the world.

6. That civil service appointments for all civil offices, chiefly clerical in their duties, should be based upon moral, intellectual, and physical qualifications, and not upon party service or party necessity.

7. That the right of suffrage rests on no mere circumstance of race, color, sex, or nationality, and that where, from any cause, it has been held from citizens who are of suitable age and mentally

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ly qualified for the exercise of an intelligent ballot, it
restored by the people through the Legislatures of the
States, on such educational basis as they may deem wise.

the abolition of polygamy and the establishment of uni-
governing marriage and divorce.

prohibiting all combinations of capital to control and to
the cost of products for popular consumption.

the preservation and defence of the Sabbath as a civil
without oppressing any who religiously observe the
any other day than the first day of the week.

arbitration is the Christian, wise, and economic method
national differences, and the same method should, by
legislation, be applied to the settlement of disputes be-
ge bodies of employees and employers ; that the aboli-
e saloons would remove the burdens, moral, physical,
, and social, which now oppress labor and rob it of its
and would prove to be the wise and successful way of
g labor reform ; and we invite labor and capital to unite
for the accomplishment thereof ; that monopoly in land is
to the people, and the public land should be reserved to
tlers, and that men and women should receive equal
equal work.

at our immigration laws should be so enforced as to pre-

minority report, in which was recommended the substitution of a declaration in favor of leaving the question to the action of States, promising that "as rapidly as we come into power we will submit this question to a vote of the people in the several States, to be settled by them at the ballot box." This resolution was defeated by an overwhelming vote.

An addition was made to the platform on a motion from the floor, which was not opposed. To the tariff plank, the paragraph numbered five, these words were appended : —

. . . "and imposed on such other articles of import as will give protection both to the manufacturing employee and the producing laborer against the competition of the world."

The platform, with this amendment, was adopted without a division.

Clinton B. Fisk, of New Jersey, was made the candidate for President, and John A. Brooks, of Missouri, for Vice-President. Both nominations were made unanimously and by acclamation.

The Democrats assembled in National Convention at St. Louis on the 5th of June. Notwithstanding the certainty of Mr. Cleveland's nomination, there was an enormous gathering of prominent members of the party from North and South. S. M. White, of California, acted as temporary chairman, and Patrick A. Collins, of Massachusetts, was made permanent president. The rules of the Convention of 1884 were adopted, with a slight change in the phraseology of the rule intended to discourage a stampede. In its new form the rule provided "that, in voting for candidates for President and Vice-President, no State shall be allowed to change its vote until the roll of the States has been called, and every State has cast its vote."

There was a contest within the Committee on Resolu-

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to the extent to which the convention should "incorporate" the Mills bill. While not only all the members of the committee, but all the delegates who composed the convention, were in favor of a strong declaration for "reform," there were some who deemed it inexpedient to use explicit terms to express approval of the bill at a moment pending before the House of Representatives. But the general sentiment of the committee was that the Mills bill, as it stood, should be made a party platform.

The minority yielded, and the committee made a unanimous report. But there was a half-compromise; endorsement of the Mills bill was not made a part of the platform proper. The Committee on Resolutions offered its approval of three resolutions to be offered on the floor, and one of the three was an unqualified declaration in favor of the Mills bill. The platform, as finally adopted, is as follows:—

The Democratic party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic principles, and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in

administration of the Executive power which, four years ago, was committed to its trust in the election of Grover Cleveland President of the United States ; but it challenges the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people. During a most critical period of our financial affairs, resulting from over-taxation, the anomalous condition of our currency, and a public debt unmatured, it has, by the adoption of a wise and conservative policy, not only averted a disaster, but greatly promoted the prosperity of the people. It has reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people, nearly one hundred millions of acres of valuable land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens.

While carefully guarding the interests of the taxpayers and conforming strictly to the principles of justice and equity, it has paid out more for pensions and bounties to the soldiers and sailors of the Republic than was ever paid before during an equal period.

It has adopted and consistently pursued a firm and prudent foreign policy, preserving peace with all nations, while scrupulously maintaining all the rights and interests of our own Government and people at home and abroad. The exclusion from our shores of Chinese laborers has been effectually secured under the provisions of a treaty the operation of which has been postponed by the action of a Republican majority in the Senate.

Honest reform in the Civil Service has been inaugurated and maintained by President Cleveland, and he has brought the public service to the highest standard of efficiency, not only by rule and precept, but by the example of his own untiring and unselfish administration of public affairs.

In every branch and department of the Government under Democratic control the rights and welfare of all the people have been guarded and defended ; every public interest has been protected, and the equality of all our citizens before the law, without regard to race or color, has been steadfastly maintained.

Upon its record thus exhibited, and upon a pledge of a continuance to the people of these benefits, the Democracy invokes a renewal of popular trust by the reelection of a Chief Magistrate who has been faithful, able, and prudent. We invoke, in addition

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trust, the transfer also to the Democracy of the entire power.

Republican party, controlling the Senate and resisting in both Congress a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws have outlasted the necessities of war, and are now under the abundance of a long peace, denies to the people equality of the law, and the fairness and the justice which are due them. Thus the cry of American labor for a better share in the fruits of industry is stifled with false pretences, enterprise is stifled and bound down to home markets, capital is discouraged and discouraged, and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended nor repealed. The Democratic party will continue with power confided to it the struggle to reform these laws, in accordance with the pledges of its last platform, indorsed at the polls by the suffrages of the people.

the industrious freemen of our land, the immense majority of every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage from existing tax laws, but the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessities of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our citizens. Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the

public expense, and to abolish unnecessary taxation. Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not, and need not, be endangered by the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises, by giving them assurance of extended market and steady and continuous operations in the interests of American labor, which should in no event be neglected. The revision of our tax laws contemplated by the Democratic party should promote the advantage of such labor, by cheapening the cost of the necessities of life in the home of every workman, and at the same time securing to him steady and remunerative employment. Upon this question of tariff reform, so closely concerning every phase of our National life, and upon every question involved in the problem of good government, the Democratic party submits its principles and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people.

The following are the three resolutions mentioned above, offered with the sanction of the Committee on Resolutions, and adopted unanimously by the Convention:—

Resolved, That this Convention hereby indorses and recommends the early passage of the bill for the reduction of the revenue now pending in the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That a just and liberal policy should be pursued in reference to the Territories; that right of self-government is inherent in the people, and guaranteed under the Constitution; that the Territories of Washington, Dakota, Montana, and New Mexico are, by virtue of population and development, entitled to admission into the Union as States, and we unqualifiedly condemn the course of the Republican party in refusing Statehood and self-government to their people.

Resolved, That we express our cordial sympathy with the struggling people of all nations in their efforts to secure for themselves the inestimable blessings of self-government, and civil and religious liberty, and we especially declare our sympathy with the efforts of those noble patriots, who, led by Gladstone and Parnell,

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ducted their grand and peaceful contest for Home Rule

the first time since 1840, when Martin Van Buren was re-elected for reelection by resolution, and not by the individual votes of delegates, there was no voting for a candidate for President. A motion was made and carried with great enthusiasm to place Grover Cleveland in nomination for a second term. The death of Vice-President Hendricks in the first year of his term had left the place on the ticket open to a contest. Several candidates had appeared, but before the convention met, the sentiment of the delegates was setting strongly in favor of Judge Thurman, of Ohio. The brief contest over the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President gave rise to many picturesque incidents that characterized the St. Louis convention. During Judge Thurman's long service in the Senate the country had become accustomed to hear him utter the "red bandanna" of which he was in the habit of making use after indulging in a pinch of snuff. Delegates of Governor Gray, of Indiana, were present in large force, all wearing high white hats as badges

already. The vote for a candidate showed an immense majority in his favor. It stood thus: for Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, 690; for Isaac P. Gray, of Indiana, 105; for John C. Black, of Illinois, 25.

The Republican Convention was held at Chicago, June 19. John M. Thurston, of Nebraska, was the temporary chairman, and M. M. Estee, of California, was the permanent president. The following platform was reported and adopted:—

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in National Convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader, the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people, Abraham Lincoln, and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders, who have more recently been called away from our councils,—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished! We also recall, with our greetings and with prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the Republic, the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan.

In the spirit of these great leaders, and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulations to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents. We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the National Constitution, and to the indissoluble union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or

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at least one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot, the best and equal representation of all the people, to be the basis of our republican government, and demand effective measures to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the basis of public authority. We charge that the present Republican administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe the country a debt of honor to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of

We protest against its destruction, as proposed by the Administration and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we serve the interests of America. We accept the issue, and we appeal to the people for their judgment. The protection of our tariff must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by disaster to all interests, except those of the usurper and the monopolist. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the interests of business, the labor, and the farming interests of the country. We heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in Congress opposing its passage. We oppose the proposition of the Democratic party to place our tariff on a free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protec-

the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens, and we recommend to Congress and the State legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers, not aliens, which the Republican party established in 1862, against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the Administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of the Republicans and Democrats about fifty millions of acres of unearned lands, originally granted for the construction of railroads, have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic Administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers title to their homestead, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon necessity only, to the end that they may become States in the Union ; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted, as a right inherent in them, the right to form for themselves constitutions and State governments, and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for statehood, all officers thereof should be selected from the *bona fide* residents

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of the Territory wherein they are to serve. South should, of right, be immediately admitted as a State under a constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily approve the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives for partisan purposes, favorably to consider these bills is a violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The bills in the Senate for acts to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota, and Montana Territories to form constitutions and establish State governments should be passed without any delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States, such of them as are now qualified as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they become so.

The political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories as exercised in the past is a menace to free institutions, a danger not to be suffered; therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the nation in the Territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance thereof to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and

rehabilitation of our American merchant marine ; and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free-ship bill, as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our ship-yards.

We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy ; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance, and other approved modern means of defence for the protection of our defenseless harbors and cities ; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers ; for necessary works of national importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coast-wise, and foreign commerce ; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor ; activity to our various industries ; increase the security of our country ; promote trade ; open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the Government's money, without interest, to "pet banks."

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present Administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by Republican administration for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce, and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, it has seen, with idle complacency, the extension of foreign influence in Central America and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction, or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, — a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, and of our national influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and farther coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

We arraign the present Democratic Administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question, and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our

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vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the courtesy and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress towards them as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as calculated to destroy a valuable national industry and an indispensable source of defence against a foreign enemy.

The principle of American citizenship applies alike to all citizens of the republic. It imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship is and must be the best safeguard of him who wears it, and protects him, in all his civil rights, it should afford him protection at home, and follow and protect him, in whatever land he may be, on a lawful errand.

Those who abandoned the Republican party in 1884, and con-
fessed their allegiance to the Democratic party, have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom, of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of re-
publican civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges, nor have broken theirs, nor because their candidate has

We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit :
The civil service auspiciously begun under the

We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland, in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated, we invite the coöperation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free-trade policy of the present Administration.

The withdrawal of Mr. Blaine, as has been explained, had left the field open for all contestants, and not only was there an unusually large number of "favorite sons," but several prominent gentlemen who were not brought forward as candidates by the delegates representing the respective States of their residence, were mentioned as possible candidates in case the contest should be long and the difficulty of agreeing upon a nominee great. Per- vading the convention at all times, up to the moment that a nomination was effected, was a feeling that the name of Mr. Blaine might be presented in such a way, at a critical period, that the convention would be carried away by an outburst of irrepressible enthusiasm, and that he would be summoned to lead the party again by a call so vociferous that he could not decline. Mr. Blaine gave no countenance or help to this movement. At the very opening of the convention, having learned that some of his indiscreet friends were making unauthorized use of his name, and were assuming to declare what he would do in certain contingencies, Mr. Blaine requested the London correspondent of the "New York Tribune" to say that all rumors "pretending to give letters or dispatches from him or any of his party touching political topics of any kind may be promptly discredited unless signed by Mr. Blaine himself;" and, further, that he had written nothing concerning the presidential nominations except the two published letters from Florence and Paris,

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he had held no correspondence of any kind with
on political subjects. Even this did not prevent
en from thinking that the nomination of Mr.
was the most probable outcome of the contest.
the delegates persisted in voting for him from
last; and the Blaine stampede was the event
the whole country expected. But the fitting mo-
it never came, and the judgment of the cooler
s of the convention was against it at all times,
because they saw, what Mr. Blaine had said so
that he could not honorably accept the nomina-
en if it were to be thrust upon him.

rst vote for a candidate showed an extraordinary
concentration. Senator John Sherman, who led
candidates, had but little more than one fourth
number necessary to nominate. Judge Gresham,
on the list, had less than half as many as Mr.
, and not one of the delegates from his own State
na was among his supporters. The votes were
among thirteen candidates, and even on the fourth
number had been reduced only to ten. How

tory of former conventions was repeated; the leading candidate did not greatly increase his vote, and a concentration took place gradually upon one who had at the beginning a small but a compact and aggressive body of followers. General Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, was nominated upon the eighth vote. The result on each of the votes is shown in the following table:—

	First.	Second.	Third.	Fourth.	Fifth.	Sixth.	Seventh.	Eighth.
John Sherman, of Ohio	229	249	244	224	224	244	231	118
Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana	111	105	123	98	87	91	91	59
Chauncey M. Depew, of New York	99	99	III	—	—	—	—	—
Russel A. Alger, of Michigan .	84	116	122	135	142	137	120	100
Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana .	80	III	94	217	213	231	278	544
William B. Allison, of Iowa . .	72	75	88	88	90	73	76	—
James G. Blaine, of Maine . . .	35	33	35	42	48	40	15	5
John J. Ingalls, of Kansas . . .	28	16	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jere. M. Rusk, of Wisconsin . .	25	20	16	—	—	—	—	—
William W. Phelps, of New Jersey	25	18	5	—	—	—	—	—
E. H. Fitler, of Pennsylvania . .	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois . .	3	2	2	1	—	—	2	—
William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio .	2	3	8	11	14	12	16	4
Samuel F. Miller, of Iowa . . .	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
Frederick Douglass	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
J. B. Foraker, of Ohio	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—
Frederick D. Grant, of New York	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Creed Haymond, of California . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Whole number of votes	830	830	829	827	830	831	830	
Necessary for a choice	415	416	416	415	414	416	416	416

Levi P. Morton, of New York, was nominated for Vice-President on the first vote. He received 591 votes to 119 for William Walter Phelps, of New Jersey; 103 for William O. Bradley, of Kentucky; 11 for Blanche K. Bruce, of Mississippi; and 1 for Walter F. Thomas, of Texas.

The following resolution, which was offered from the

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the close of the proceedings of the convention, adopted with but one dissenting vote:—

“The greatest concern of all good government is the virtue and integrity of the people, and the purity of their homes. The Republican Party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed measures for the promotion of temperance and morality.

“The convention of a party which adopted the name of Republicanism was held at Washington on the 14th of August, 1854, attended by 126 delegates, of whom 65 represented New York, and 15 were from California. On the second day of the convention a contest which had divided the party from the first led to a split, and all the members from New York and California seceded and held a convention of their own. The issue which broke the party was the apportionment of votes. The majority most strongly represented desired that each delegate should have one vote, while the minority insisted on the usual rule of other conventions, that the State or Congressional district should be the unit for voting, rather than the individual delegate. The seceders

Resolved, That we are in favor of fostering and encouraging American industries of every class and kind, and declare that the assumed issue "Protection" vs. "Free Trade" is a fraud and a snare. The best "protection" is that which protects the labor and life blood of the republic from the degrading competition with and contamination by imported foreigners ; and the most dangerous "free trade" is that in paupers, criminals, communists, and anarchists, in which the balance has always been against the United States.

Whereas, One of the greatest evils of unrestricted foreign immigration is the reduction of the wages of the American working-man and working-woman to the level of the underfed and underpaid labor of foreign countries ; therefore

Resolved, That we demand that no immigrant shall be admitted into the United States without a passport obtained from the American consul at the port from which he sails ; that no passport shall be issued to any pauper, criminal, or insane person, or to any person who, in the judgment of the consul, is not likely to become a desirable citizen of the United States ; and that for each immigrant passport there shall be collected by the consul issuing the same the sum of one hundred dollars (\$100), to be by him paid into the Treasury of the United States.

Resolved, That the present naturalization laws of the United States should be unconditionally repealed.

Resolved, That the soil of America should belong to Americans ; that no alien non-resident should be permitted to own real estate in the United States, and that the realty possessions of the resident alien should be limited in value and area.

Resolved, That no flag shall float on any public buildings, municipal, state, or national, in the United States, except the municipal, state, or national flag of the United States, — the flag of the stars and stripes.

Resolved, That we reassert the American principles of absolute freedom of religious worship and belief, the permanent separation of church and state ; and we oppose the appropriation of public money or property to any church, or institution administered by a church. We maintain that all church property should be subject to taxation.

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campaign which followed the nomination of candidates presented no remarkable features until a short time before the election. Political clubs took somewhat undue prominence in the contest. They were enabled to do their work more effectively by forming State and local leagues, and thus gaining the advantage which resulted from organized and concerted effort.

The tariff was the great issue. It was the chief topic upon which the Republican and Democratic candidates made their respective letters of acceptance. It was freely discussed from the stump and in the party newspapers.

The Democrats distinctly pledged themselves that if they should gain full control of the government, they would reduce the tariff, taking for general principles the method of reduction the system sketched by the "Free Trade Bill." The Republicans, on the other hand, committed themselves unreservedly by a declaration that they would sweep away the whole internal revenue system and they would abandon any part of the protective tariff on imports. The public discussion was very earnest and was, however, prior to the election itself.

respondence was published between a person, who adopted the fictitious name of Charles F. Murchison, and Lord Sackville, the British Minister at Washington. The false Murchison represented himself to be a former British subject, now naturalized as an American, but cherishing a love for the mother country, and asking Lord Sackville's advice as to how he should vote at the coming election. The incautious reply of Lord Sackville, who fell into a trap set for him, implied, though it gave no direct advice, that a vote for the Democratic candidate would be rather more friendly to England than one for Mr. Harrison. The correspondence was published on October 24. The Republicans seized upon it as confirming what they had insisted upon, when discussing the Mills bill, that the Democratic tariff policy was good for England's interest, but bad for America. The President quickly perceived the use that was to be made of the incident, and took his measures accordingly. The view was taken that the advice given by Lord Sackville was an interference by a foreign minister with the internal politics of this country, — a repetition on a small scale of the impertinence of Citizen Genet during the administration of Washington. The attention of Lord Salisbury was called to the matter; and when the British premier failed to regard Lord Sackville's indiscretion as a serious offence, if indeed he regarded it as an offence at all, the President directed that the British minister be informed that he was no longer *persona grata*, and that his passports should be given to him. The incident was variously regarded at the time. Some deemed the whole affair an amusing illustration of the tendency to magnify what is really insignificant when an election is pending. Those who took it, or affected to take it seriously, vented their indignation, according to the party to which they respectively belonged, upon the sharp politician who prepared a pitfall for the diploma-

South, together with the States of New Jersey. The other States of the doubtful States of New York and New Jersey. The popular vote is given as follows:—

	Pop.	
	Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana.	Grover Cleveland, of New York.
Maine	73,734	50,4
New Hampshire	45,728	43,4
Vermont	45,192	16,7
Massachusetts	183,892	151,8
Rhode Island	21,968	17,8
Connecticut	74,584	74,9
New York*	648,759	635,7
New Jersey	144,344	151,4
Pennsylvania	526,091	446,6
Delaware	12,973	16,4

	POPULAR VOTE.				ELECTORAL VOTE.	
	Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana.	Grover Cleveland, of New York.	Culston B. Fisk, of New Jersey.	Abner J. Street, of Illinois.	Harrison and Morton.	Cleveland and Thurman.
South Carolina	13,736	65,825				9
Georgia	40,496	100,499	1,808	136		12
Florida	26,657	39,561	423			11
Alabama	56,197	117,320	583			10
Mississippi	30,096	85,471	117	22		9
Louisiana	30,484	85,032	100	39		8
Texas	88,422	234,883	4,749	29,459		11
Arkansas	58,752	85,962	641	10,613		7
Missouri	236,257	261,974	4,539	18,632		16
Tennessee	138,988	158,779	5,969	11		12
Kentucky	155,134	183,800	5,225	622		11
Ohio	416,054	396,455	24,356	8,496	23	
Michigan	236,370	213,459	20,942	4,541	11	
Indiana	263,361	261,013	9,881	2,694	11	
Illinois *	370,473	348,278	21,695	7,090	22	
Wisconsin	176,553	155,232	14,277	8,552	11	
Minnesota	142,492	104,385	15,311	1,094	7	
Iowa	211,598	179,887	3,550	9,105	13	
Nebraska	108,425	80,552	9,429	4,226	5	
Kansas	182,934	103,744	6,768	37,726	9	
Colorado	50,774	37,587	2,191	1,266	11	
Nevada	7,229	5,362	41		3	
California †	124,816	117,729	5,761		8	
Oregon	33,291	26,522	1,677	363	3	
	5,439,853	5,540,329	249,506	146,935	233	168

* 150 for Cowdrey, United Labor.

† 1,591 for Curtis, American.

The statement of the popular vote here given is that printed in Appleton's "Annual Cyclopædia" for 1889. It

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slightly in the vote of several States from that
McPherson's "Handbook of Politics," and in
York "Tribune Almanac," edited by Mr. Mc-

The returns were "official" in each case; the
by they do not agree does not appear. It may
sted that the return in the one case is that of
for the leading elector on each ticket, and in
case the average vote for all the electors on
ket respectively. This is apparently not the
anation. The aggregate difference between the
ments is not large, as will appear from the fol-

	Appleton : Cyclopedia.	McPherson : Hand Book and Almanac.
.	5,540,329	5,536,242
.	5,439,853	5,440,708
.	249,506	246,876
.	146,935	146,836
.	1,591	1,591
.	150	3,073
and continuing		9,845

not require previous concurrent action by the two houses of Congress for the time being. The joint convention for counting the votes was held in the hall of the House of Representatives on February 13, 1889. The proceedings were devoid of striking incident. Mr. Cox, of New York, called attention to a slight deviation from the precise requirements of the law. It appears that Mr. Ingalls, the President *pro tempore* of the Senate, who presided, did not "call for objections, if any," after the reading of each certificate, as directed by section four of the law (see p. 417). The official report of the proceedings does not state whether or not the presiding officer changed his method after attention was called to the matter. When the vote of Indiana was reported, the vote of the President-elect's own State, there was applause, which was quickly suppressed. Mr. Manderson, the first of the Senate tellers, reported the state of the vote in detail, and in a summary; the presiding officer repeated the summary, and added a formula, drawn from the law, that this announcement of the state of the vote "is, by law, a sufficient declaration" that Benjamin Harrison, of the State of Indiana, had been elected President, and Levi P. Morton, of the State of New York, Vice-President, for the ensuing term.

XXIX.

CLEVELAND'S SECOND ELECTION.

ory of the Republicans, although narrow, was

A safe majority of the electoral vote was
nted by a meagre majority in both houses of

A quarrel among the Democrats of Delaware
e legislature of that State into the hands of the
ans, who thus regained the one Senator, lost in
needed to give them ascendancy in the upper

The House of Representatives was so closely
between the two parties as to give some ground
pprehension that certain Democratic governors
rn States would revise and amend the returns
essmen, and withhold certificates from candi-
e apparently had received a plurality of votes.

only did the government assume authority to

unrelenting war upon them. In the end it was evident that the dominant party had exposed itself to attack at too many points. The favor of the people was withdrawn when the administration was at its mid-point, and given to the opposition by an overwhelming majority. At the close of the four years the control of every department of the government, except the judicial, passed into the hands of the Democrats, where it had not been placed since the election of James Buchanan in 1856.

When the fifty-first Congress met, in December, 1889, the extremely small Republican majority in the House of Representatives, as elected in 1888, was reinforced by the addition of five members from newly admitted States. The two parties had been engaged in a competition for the favor of the people of the Territories clamoring for admission to the Union. For several years Republicans had urged the passage of an enabling act for Dakota. The Democrats, knowing that the proposed new State would be against them, had prevented its admission until the Territory became populous enough, as it was territorially large enough, to claim division, and admission as two States. Then the Democrats proposed to offset the two Dakotas by admitting at the same time Washington and Montana, both of which they expected to control. The Republicans feared that opposition to the admission of Washington and Montana — which they knew would be futile in any event — would ensure their becoming Democratic States. Accordingly they gave their support to the "omnibus" bill, which became a law in February, 1889. All four of the States were carried by the Republicans at the first election, and added eight votes to the strength of the party in the Senate, and five — South Dakota elected two members — to the Republican majority in the House of Representatives. But after these five votes were added, the ma-

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the House was still too small to be effective. The absence of a few members might easily convert a majority into a minority. Moreover, the rules of the House — to that time — uniform interpretation of the clause of the Constitution rendered a narrow majority powerless for affirmative action in the face of determined opposition and obstruction, or "filibuster."

Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, who was chosen Speaker, had long held two views directly opposed to the theory of parliamentary law. He maintained that the presence of a member was not the only method of revealing presence in the House as a part of a constitutional quorum; that the House itself, or the Speaker as the organ of the House, might take cognizance of his presence and count him as a present member. Under the previously accepted theory, the ruling party could pass no motion if, not mustering a full quorum of members, the opposition unanimously refused to assent. Mr. Speaker Reed acted upon his own theory, and the adoption of any rules, by counting as present those members who were otherwise taking part in

current parliamentary law. The code was debated with great asperity, but it was finally adopted by a party vote. It made the majority masters of the House and enabled them to pass measures which never would have been brought to a vote under the old system. It added greatly to the power of the Speaker in the conduct of business, and to his control over legislation. Mr. Speaker Reed's strong will and undaunted courage, in enforcing his new rules against violent opposition, earned for him with the Democratic members the title of "Czar." Not a few of them admitted that his position was sound and logical, while they condemned his forceful maintenance of it. The Republicans applauded; and the whole country saw afterward that it was upon him, far more than upon any other person, that the responsibility rested for things done and left undone by the fifty-first Congress.

The Republicans proceeded, promptly and mercilessly, to decide contested elections by ejecting Democrats and giving the places to members of their own party, thus increasing their effective majority. The fact that the number, both of contested seats and of members displaced, was unusually large they explained by asserting that fraud had been unusually rife in the elections and returns. The opposition accused the majority of using its power to override and reverse the will of the people expressed at the polls. In many cases the Democrats refused to answer to their names when the resolutions unseating their members were put to vote; some of them were counted, though not voting, to make up the quorum.

Both parties were committed, by platform and by the promises of their candidates and leaders, to a revision of customs duties. A large part of the session was occupied in the elaboration of a tariff bill. It was reported by Mr. McKinley, of Ohio, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, in April; was passed by the House

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Representatives in May; was passed by the Senate in September; and, after an adjustment of the differences between the two houses by a conference committee, was signed by the President, by whom it was signed on the 1st of September. The act was popularly styled the "McKinley Tariff" and as such played a great part in the political life of the next three years. The principle of the act was to lighten the burden borne by the people by removing altogether the duty on sugar, the article most productive of revenue of all commodities entered at the customhouses, and at the same time to make the system of "tariff protection" more thorough by raising the rates of duty on all foreign articles which, under the previous tariff, could compete successfully with similar articles of domestic production. The American sugar-planters were compensated for the withdrawal of tariff protection by the grant of a bounty on their production. The Tariff Act of 1890 went beyond any previous measure of the kind in its levy of duty on agricultural productions imported from abroad. The avowed intention of its passage was to give the farmer protection equal to that enjoyed by the manufacturer. The McKinley Bill

Some of their leaders made no secret of an opinion that the measure was too radical. In particular, Mr. Blaine, the Secretary of State, expressed the opinion openly, and called attention to the fact that while the bill was professedly drawn in the interest of agriculture, it would not open any foreign market to American flour and pork. His influence was sufficient to secure the adoption by the Senate of an amendment, afterward concurred in by the House, authorizing the negotiation of reciprocity treaties providing for the admission of American products, at favorable rates of duty, into the countries with which the treaties might be concluded. It may be remarked here that many such treaties were negotiated under the terms of the McKinley Act, but, as will be seen presently, they were denounced by the Democrats in their national platform; and during the ensuing administration the authorization of such treaties was withdrawn, and the treaties themselves were abrogated.

Another most important measure of this session was the act which subsequently became known as the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. The history of this legislation, and indeed of the whole agitation for the free coinage of silver during the administration of President Harrison, is most interesting. But, save that the act above mentioned served for the time being to keep the Republican party together, it had no distinct bearing upon the election of the next President, and therefore the record of what was done, and prevented, in reference to silver, need not be given here.

But a third measure, which never became a law, did play a certain part in the election, namely, the bill to regulate national elections, styled by the Democrats the "Force Bill." The bill was passed by the House of Representatives at the first session of the fifty-first Congress; it failed in the Senate at the second session through the defection of a certain number of Republican

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who favored the free coinage of silver. It was understood, and indeed not concealed, that there was a temporary alliance between these Senators and the Democrats, some of whom showed at the time a tolerance toward the silver movement which they did not manifest nor afterward.

The McKinley tariff act went into effect just before the general congressional elections of November, 1890. The Democrats had succeeded in making it exceedingly unpopular even before it was finally passed, and they kept up its enactment with vigorous assaults upon its merits, and energetic efforts to convince the people that it was detrimental to their interests. Success was comparatively easy, for the increase of duty on certain articles of common consumption was distinctly perceptible at retail price. While it is impossible to estimate the influence of this event and that in bringing about a political revulsion, and while there can be no doubt that other acts of the Republican party contributed to its overthrow, certainly the quick and general condemnation of the tariff act was the most important element in what followed. The Republicans were

ceeded in electing nine members of the House of Representatives, and held such a strong position in the legislatures of Kansas and South Dakota as to be able to send two members to the Senate of the United States.

The political situation established by the elections of 1890 changed but slightly during the ensuing two years. The conditions were of course not favorable to legislation, and the Democrats wisely attempted nothing beyond proposing amendments of the tariff. The few elections which took place in 1891 did not indicate that the Republicans had regained the ground lost the year before; but they did show some recovery, and gave the party reason to hope that it might succeed in the coming contest. Ohio and Pennsylvania, in particular, gave evidence of a reaction in favor of the Republican party. The local elections in New York State, and the annual election in Rhode Island, in the spring of 1892, were still more encouraging to them. Indeed, a peculiar situation developed itself about a year before the presidential election. The active politicians of both the great parties were opposed to the leading candidates. On the Democratic side they attributed the loss of the election in 1888 to Mr. Cleveland's forcing the tariff issue; and, although the popular judgment had seemed to be reversed in 1890, they were still afraid to appeal to the people for a fresh verdict on the question of protection or free trade. Moreover, Mr. Cleveland himself was not and had never been personally popular with the men who managed caucuses and conventions. Most important of all, as it then seemed, there was a factional division of the party in New York. Governor Hill was in control of the party machinery. He was himself an avowed candidate for the Presidency. Rightly or wrongly, he was accused of having defeated the Democratic electors in New York in 1888, while securing his own election as governor. The electoral vote of New York was deemed absolutely

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to success, and great stress was laid upon the policy of nominating for President a man who presented to be foredoomed to defeat in that

Harrison, on the other hand, had not gained popularity with his own party, either with the politicians or the common people. It was understood that there was a quarrel between him and Mr. Blaine, his Secretary of War, and Mr. Blaine's devoted partisans were against him for that reason, without knowing the cause of quarrel or the merits of the case. The President had lost the esteem of his party by his administration, and himself he had attached no large body of personal friends and adherents. Nevertheless there was a general expectation that he would be again a candidate. The general sentiment of the party may be best described as one of indifference. The rank and file of the party were opposed to Mr. Harrison, as were many of the politicians; nor were they eager for his nomination for a second term. The opponents of the President endeavored to take advantage of this condition of the public mind, and sought to defeat him. They turned, of course, to

vention to choose the delegates, to meet on the 22d of February, — four full months before the National Convention. The hand of Governor Hill was seen clearly in this action. The plan was, and it was subsequently carried out, to choose a full delegation to Chicago pledged to vote for Mr. Hill and to oppose Mr. Cleveland. A chorus of indignant protest against the "snap convention" was raised at once by Mr. Cleveland's friends, who organized, not to control that convention, which would be hopeless while all the party machinery was in the hands of the enemy, but to send another delegation to Chicago representing, as they asserted, a majority of the Democratic voters of the State. Those who joined in this anti-Hill movement were known popularly as "anti-snappers."

During the spring months the delegates to the several conventions were chosen. On the Republican side the party elections went largely in favor of General Harrison. Nevertheless the number of uninstructed delegates was so large that his success was by no means assured. The Democratic state and district conventions were overwhelmingly in favor of Mr. Cleveland. It was evident that, unless the Hill delegation from New York could terrify the National Convention, Mr. Cleveland would receive far more than the necessary two thirds on the first vote.

The convention period was a time of great excitement, despite the fact which all could see, save those who would not see, that the nominations were predetermined. In the case of General Harrison, and equally so in the case of Mr. Cleveland, determined and bitter antagonism was manifested to the evident choice of a majority of delegates until the very end. The opponents of the President endeavored to rally around Mr. Blaine, but his letter declining to be a candidate stood in the way of success. Although he added nothing to that letter

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nothing away from it, yet some of his adherents declared that he would not refuse a nomination if it came to him. But others of his oldest and staunchest friends, who had become partisans of Mr. Harrison, after Mr. Blaine's withdrawal, insisted that the Secretary of State could not and should not be a candidate. Three weeks before the meeting of the Republican Convention Mr. Blaine suddenly resigned from the Cabinet. His act threw the whole country into a condition of amazed and wondering bewilderment. What did it mean? Had there been some quarrel between the President and the Secretary intolerable? Had the Secretary changed his intention to be a candidate? Had his health at last given out? An authoritative answer to the series of questions has never been given. Every one who disbelieves that the act of resignation and the election chosen for it had a direct connection with the shortness of the time for the meeting of the National Convention. But since it was as easy to give the impression that Mr. Blaine purposed retiring from public life as to deem his purposed resignation a mark of willingness to gain to enter the field, the startling change in

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi River, the everlasting bond of an indestructible Republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops, and mines, and make the following declaration of principles : —

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress.

We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the Tariff Act of 1890.

We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws piecemeal, as is manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead and lead ores, the chief products of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased, and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops.

We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican Administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the

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...ce of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the
...g and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver,
...paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the
...of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand
...y dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government, shall
...d as any other.

...commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our
...ent to secure an international conference to adopt such
...as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver
...money throughout the world.

...mand that every citizen of the United States shall be
...o cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elec-
...that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast ;
...laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to
...zen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or
...is sovereign right guaranteed by the Constitution. The
...honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation
...e people, as well as their just and equal protection under
...are the foundation of our republican institutions, and
...y will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the
...the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and
...in every State.

...nounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon

the respective States that will protect employees engaged in State commerce, in mining and manufacturing.

The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color, or nationality ; it sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land ; but, while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of Church and State.

We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily indorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws, and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages, and rural communities the advantages of the free delivery service, now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent, at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the Post-office Department, and the highest class of postal service.

We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service, and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws regulating the same.

The construction of the Nicaragua Canal is of the highest importance to the American people, both as a measure of national defence and to build up and maintain American commerce, and it should be controlled by the United States Government.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practical date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from

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residents thereof, and the right of self-government recorded as far as practicable.

or cession, subject to the homestead laws, of the arid lands to the States and Territories in which they lie, under Congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation and by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits to the

World's Columbian Exposition is a great national undertaking. Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation thereof as will insure a discharge of the expenses and incident thereto, and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the nation.

Forbearance we sympathize with all wise and legitimate measures to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and profligacy.

Grateful of the services and sacrifices of the men who have given life to the nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the Republic a watchful care and recognition of their just claims by a grateful people.

We commend the able, patriotic, and thoroughly American Administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity, and the dignity and honor of the Nation at home and abroad, have been faithfully maintained, and

gates in North Carolina and Mississippi. In the one case the division was into thirds, and in the other into halves of votes. The combination of fractions caused an erroneous appearance of a more minute division than really existed.

Whitelaw Reid, of New York, was nominated for Vice-President by acclamation.

The Democratic Convention met at Chicago on June 21. William C. Owens, of Kentucky, was the temporary chairman, and William L. Wilson, of West Virginia, the permanent president. The platform was reported on the evening of June 22. As adopted it was as follows : —

SECTION 1. The representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, do reaffirm their allegiance to the principles of the party as formulated by Jefferson, and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of his successors in Democratic leadership : from Madison to Cleveland ; we believe the public welfare demands that these principles be applied to the conduct of the Federal Government through the accession to power of the party that advocates them ; and we solemnly declare that the need of a return to these fundamental principles of a free popular government, based on home rule and individual liberty, was never more urgent than now, when the tendency to centralize all power at the Federal Capital has become a menace to the reserved rights of the States that strikes at the very roots of our government under the Constitution as framed by the fathers of the Republic.

SEC. 2. We warn the people of our common country, jealous for the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of Federal control of elections to which the Republican party has committed itself is fraught with the greatest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically establishing monarchy on the ruins of the Republic. It strikes at the North as well as the South, and injures the colored citizen even more than the white. It means a horde of deputy marshals

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polling-place armed with Federal power, returning boards and controlled by Federal authority, the outrage of the rights of the people in the several States, the subjugation of the people to the control of the party in power, and the long of race antagonisms now happily abated, of the utmost to the safety and happiness of all ; a measure deliberately described by a leading Republican Senator as the most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate. Such a policy, if sanctioned by law, would mean the establishment of a self-perpetuating oligarchy of office-holders, and the first entrusted with its machinery could be dislodged only by an appeal to the reserved right of the people to self-expression, which is inherent in all self-governing communities.

Two years ago, this revolutionary policy was emphatically condemned by the people at the polls ; but in contempt of the result, the Republican party has defiantly declared in its authoritative utterance that its success in the coming election will mean the enactment of the Force Bill, and the usurpation of control over elections in all the States. Believing that the preservation of republican government in the United States depends upon the defeat of this policy of legalized force and fraud, we invite the support of all citizens who desire to see the Union maintained in its integrity, with the laws pursuant

We denounce the McKinley Tariff law enacted by the 51st Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation ; we indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption, and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party. Since the McKinley tariff went into operation, there have been ten reductions of the wages of laboring men to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation, and we point to the dullness and distress, the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade, as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley act.

We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that, after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth in exchange for our agricultural surplus, the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over \$2,500,000,000, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the West, there appears a real estate mortgage debt averaging \$165 per capita of the total population, and that similar conditions and tendencies are shown to exist in the other agricultural exporting States. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the sheriff.

SEC. 4. Trade interchange on the basis of reciprocal advantage to the countries participating is a time-honored doctrine of the Democratic faith ; but we denounce the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a custom-house barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the richest countries of the world, that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products, and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessities and comforts of life among our own people.

SEC. 5. We recognize, in the trusts and combinations which

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ed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the product of capital and labor, a natural consequence of protective taxes which prevent the free competition which is the basis of honest trade, but we believe their worst evils can be met by law; and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws which prevent and control them, together with such further legislation in restraint of their abuses as experience may show to be necessary.

The Republican party, while professing a policy of reserving the public land for small holdings by actual settlers, has nevertheless, by the people's heritage, till now a few railroad and non-railroad lands, individual and corporate, possess a larger area of all our farms between the two seas. The last Democratic administration reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people, nearly 100,000,000 acres of valuable land, to be held as homesteads for our citizens, and we pledge ourself to continue this policy until every acre of land so unlawfully taken shall be reclaimed and restored to the people.

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman Act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its sup-

SEC. 8. We recommend that the prohibitory ten per cent. tax on State bank issues be repealed.

SEC. 9. Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the Democratic National Convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent Republican Convention, by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which Federal office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the States, and we pledge the Democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government.

SEC. 10. The Democratic party is the only party that has ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling respect abroad and inspiring confidence at home. While avoiding entangling alliances, it has aimed to cultivate friendly relations with other nations, and especially with our American neighbors on the American continent whose destiny is closely linked with our own, and we view with alarm the tendency to a policy of irritation and bluster which is liable at any time to confront us with the alternative of humiliation or war. We favor the maintenance of a navy strong enough for all purposes of national defence, and to properly maintain the honor and dignity of the country abroad.

SEC. 11. This country has always been the refuge of the oppressed from every land, — exiles for conscience' sake; and in the spirit of the founders of our government, we condemn the oppression practised by the Russian Government upon its Lutheran and Jewish subjects, and we call upon our National Government, in the interest of justice and humanity, by all just and proper means, to use its prompt and best efforts to bring about a cessation of these cruel persecutions in the dominions of the Czar, and to secure to the oppressed equal rights. We tender our profound and earnest sympathy to those lovers of freedom who are struggling for home rule and the great cause of local self-government in Ireland.

SEC. 12. We heartily approve all legitimate efforts to prevent

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States from being used as the dumping-ground for the criminals and professional paupers of Europe ; and we demand rigid enforcement of the laws against Chinese immigration ; the importation of foreign workmen under contract, to American labor and lessen its wages ; but we condemn any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of virtuous and worthy of foreign lands.

This convention hereby renews the expression of approval of the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of the Union for its preservation, and we favor just and liberal pensions for all disabled Union soldiers, their widows and dependents ; and demand that the work of the Pension Office shall be done justly, impartially, and honestly. We denounce the present management of that office as incompetent, corrupt, disgraceful, and wasteful.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to the tidewater. When any waterway of the Republic is of great importance to demand the aid of the government, the government should be extended for a definite plan of continuous work and permanent improvement is secured.

For purposes of national defence and the promotion

nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education, being an essential of civil and religious liberty as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to State interference with parental rights and rights of conscience in the education of children, as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

SEC. 18. We approve the action of the present House of Representatives in passing bills for the admission into the Union as States of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having necessary population and resources to admit them to Statehood; and, while they remain Territories, we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the Districts of Columbia and Alaska, should be *bonâ fide* residents of the Territory or District in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule, and the control of their own affairs by the people of the vicinage.

SEC. 19. We favor legislation by Congress and State legislatures to protect the lives and limbs of railway employees, and those of other hazardous transportation companies, and denounce the inactivity of the Republican party, and particularly the Republican Senate, for causing the defeat of measures beneficial and protective to this class of wage-workers.

SEC. 20. We are in favor of the enactment by the States of laws for abolishing the notorious sweating system, for abolishing contract convict labor, and for prohibiting the employment in factories of children under fifteen years of age.

SEC. 21. We are opposed to all sumptuary laws as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen.

SEC. 22. Upon this statement of principles and policies, the Democratic party asks the intelligent judgment of the American people. It asks a change of administration and a change of party in order that there may be a change of system and a change of

kind produced in this country
labor here and labor abroad
measures any possible beneficial
impositions of the tariff
upon our farmers and workers
of the few whom it enriches
share of the expenses of the
revision of the tariff laws as
they lighten their oppressions
and equitable basis. But it
proposed to injure any domestic
their healthy growth. From
taxes collected at the custom
Federal revenue. Such the
many industries have come to
continuance, so that any change
regardful of the labor and as
reform must be subject in the
justice.

There had been a printing
of the Committee's
"plank." The paragraph
received, an echo of the tariff
aggressive than the attitude
preceding six years was

platform was adopted, by a vote of yeas 564, nays 342. An excited debate preceded the adoption of the amendment.

After the adoption of the platform, at a late hour in the evening, the convention proceeded at once to the work of nominating a candidate for President. Grover Cleveland was nominated on the first vote. The result of the polling was as follows:—

Whole number of votes	909½
Necessary for a choice (two thirds)	607
Grover Cleveland, of New York	617½
David B. Hill, of New York	114
Horace Boies, of Iowa	103
Arthur P. Gorman, of Maryland	36½
Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois	16½
John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky	14
William R. Morrison, of Illinois	3
James E. Campbell, of Ohio	2
William C. Whitney, of New York	1
William E. Russell, of Massachusetts	1
Robert E. Pattison, of Pennsylvania	1

The nomination of a candidate for Vice-President was postponed until the following day, when the polling resulted as follows:—

Whole number of votes	909
Necessary for a choice (two thirds)	606
Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois	402
Isaac P. Gray, of Indiana	343
Allen B. Morse, of Michigan	86
John L. Mitchell, of Wisconsin	45
Henry Watterson, of Kentucky	26
Bourke Cockran, of New York	5
Lambert Tree, of Illinois	1
Horace Boies, of Iowa	1

A motion was then made and carried to nominate Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, as candidate for Vice-President.

and private. Its volume should be fixed at a definite sum per capita, and made to increase with our increase in population.

4. We favor the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold.

5. Tariffs should be levied only as a defence against foreign governments which put tariffs upon or bar our products from their markets, revenue being incidental. The residue of means necessary to an economical administration of the government should be raised by levying a burden on what the people possess instead of upon what we consume.

6. Railroad, telegraph, and other public corporations should be controlled by the government in the interest of the people, and no higher charges allowed than necessary to give fair interest on the capital actually invested.

7. Foreign immigration has become a burden upon industry, one of the factors in depressing wages and causing discontent; therefore our immigration laws should be revised and strictly enforced. The time of residence for naturalization should be extended, and no naturalized person should be allowed to vote until one year after he becomes a citizen.

8. Non-resident aliens should not be allowed to acquire land in this country, and we favor the limitation of individual and corporate ownership of land. All unearned grants of lands to railroad companies or other corporations should be reclaimed.

9. Years of inaction and treachery on the part of the Republican and Democratic parties have resulted in the present reign of mob law, and we demand that every citizen be protected in the right of trial by constitutional tribunals.

10. All men should be protected by law in their right to one day's rest in seven.

11. Arbitration is the wisest and most economical and humane method of settling national differences.

12. Speculations in margins, the cornering of grain, money, and products, and the formation of pools, trusts, and combinations for the arbitrary advancement of prices, should be suppressed.

13. We pledge that the Prohibition Party if elected to power will ever grant just pensions to disabled veterans of the Union army and navy, their widows and orphans.

14. We stand unequivocally for the American public school, and opposed to any appropriation of public moneys for sectarian

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We declare that only by united support of such common thought in the English language, can we hope to become an homogeneous and harmonious people.

We arraign the Republican and Democratic parties as the standards reared by their founders ; as faithless to the memory of the illustrious leaders of the past to whom they do homage with the lips ; as recreant to the "higher law," which is the law in political affairs as in personal life ; and as no longer representing the aspirations of the American people, or inviting the people to the heights of enlightened, progressive patriotism. Their protests against the admission of "moral issues" into politics is a confession of their own moral degeneracy. The declaration of an eminent statesman that municipal misrule is "the one conspicuous failure of American politics," follows as a natural consequence of such degeneracy and is true alike of cities under Republican and Democratic control. Each accuses the other of extravagance in Congressional appropriations, and both are alike guilty ; each protests against the abuse of power against the infraction of the civil service laws, when in power violates those laws in letter and spirit ; each professes fealty to the interests of the toiling masses, but both secretly truckle to the money power in their administration of affairs. Even the tariff issue, as represented in the McKinley Mills bill and the Republican McKinley bill, is not regarded by them as an issue upon great and divergent prin-

A minority of the committee presented substitutes for the financial and the tariff planks of the platform, and also offered an additional resolution, which was ultimately adopted. The platform as printed above was adopted, except the fourth resolution, relating to the free coinage of silver, which was defeated by a vote of 596 to 335. The additional resolution above referred to was as follows :

Recognizing and declaring that prohibition of the liquor traffic has become the dominant issue in national politics, we invite to full party fellowship all those who on this one dominant issue are with us agreed, in the full belief that this party can and will remove sectional differences, promote nationality, and insure the best welfare of our entire land.

John Bidwell, of California, was nominated for President. The first and only vote was as follows : —

Whole number of votes	911
Necessary for a choice	456
John Bidwell, of California	590
Gideon T. Stewart, of Ohio	179
W. Jennings Demorest, of New York	139
— Bascom	3

J. B. Cranfill, of Texas, was nominated for Vice-President by the following vote : —

Whole number of votes	811
Necessary for a choice	406
J. B. Cranfill, of Texas	417
Joshua Levering, of Maryland	351
W. W. Satterly, of Minnesota	26
Thomas R. Carskodon, of West Virginia	19

The first National Convention of the " People's Party " was held at Omaha, on July 2. C. H. Ellington, of Georgia, was the temporary chairman, and H. L. Loucks, of South Dakota, the permanent president. The platform, reported and adopted on July 4, was as follows : —

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pled upon the 116th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the People's Party of America, in their first National Convention, invoking upon their action the blessing of Almighty God, puts forth, in the name and on behalf of the people of America, the following preamble and declaration of principles: Conditions which surround us best justify our coöperation: In the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislature, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the judiciary. The people are demoralized; most of the States have expelled to isolate the voters at the polling-places to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are subsidized or muzzled; public opinion silenced; business prostrated; our homes covered with mortgages; labor impoverished and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The union workmen are denied the right of organization for self-defense, supported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to keep them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of these, in turn, despise the Republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes

We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful condition to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore in the campaign every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver, and the oppressions of the usurers may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives, and children on the altar of mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires.

Assembled on the anniversary of the birthday of the nation, and filled with the spirit of the grand general chief who established our independence, we seek to restore the government of the Republic to the hands of "the plain people," with whose class it originated. We assert our purposes to be identical with the purposes of the National Constitution, "to form a more perfect union and establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity." We declare that this Republic can only endure as a free government while built upon the love of the whole people for each other and for the nation; that it cannot be pinned together by bayonets; that the civil war is over, and that every passion and resentment which grew out of it must die with it; and that we must be in fact, as we are in name, one united brotherhood of freemen.

Our country finds itself confronted by conditions for which there is no precedent in the history of the world: our annual agricultural productions amount to billions of dollars in value, which must, within a few weeks or months, be exchanged for billions of dollars of commodities consumed in their production; the existing currency supply is wholly inadequate to make this exchange; the results are falling prices, the formation of combines and rings, the impoverishment of the producing class. We pledge ourselves,

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we will labor to correct these evils by wise and legislation, in accordance with the terms of our platform. We believe that the powers of government — in other words, the powers of the people — should be expanded (as in the case of the powers of the States) as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall justify, to the end that corruption, injustice, and poverty shall eventually cease.

As a party of reform we are naturally upon the side of every proposition which will tend to make men intelligent and temperate, we nevertheless regard these questions as they are — as secondary to the great issues upon which our solution, and upon which not only our individual freedom but the very existence of free institutions depends; and we propose to first help us to determine whether we are to have a government to administer before we differ as to the conditions upon which it is to be administered; believing that the forces of reform, once organized will never cease to move forward until the evils are remedied, and equal rights and equal privileges are secured for all the men and women of this country.

Therefore, —

That the union of the labor forces of the United States shall be permanent and perpetual; may its efforts for the salvation of the Republic and the

We demand, —

First, a national currency, safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the General Government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that, without the use of banking corporations, a just, equitable, and efficient means of distribution direct to the people, at a tax not to exceed two per cent. per annum, to be provided as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or a better system; also, by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

(a) We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one.

(b) We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than fifty dollars per capita.

(c) We demand a graduated income tax.

(d) We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all state and national revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government economically and honestly administered.

(e) We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

Second, transportation. Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people.

(a) The telegraph and telephone, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

Third, land. The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

Subsequently the Committee on Resolutions made a supplementary report, submitting a series of resolutions

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It was explained are not to be regarded as a part of the party platform, but as expressive of the opinion of the party, as follows:—

As, other questions have been presented for our consideration, we hereby submit the following, not as a part of the platform of the People's Party, but as resolutions expressive of the sentiment of this convention.

Resolved, That we demand a free ballot and a fair count in all elections, and pledge ourselves to secure it to every legal voter without Federal intervention, through the adoption by the States of the unperverted Australian or secret ballot system.

Resolved, That the revenue derived from a graduated income tax should be applied to the reduction of the burden of taxation resting upon the domestic industries of this country.

Resolved, That we pledge our support to fair and liberal pension laws for ex-Union soldiers and sailors.

Resolved, That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which opens our ports to the cheap and criminal classes of the world, and crowds out our honest laborers; and we denounce the present ineffective laws against immigration, labor, and demand the further restriction of undesirable immigration.

Resolved, That we cordially sympathize with the efforts of

9. *Resolved*, That we oppose any subsidy or national aid to any private corporation for any purpose.

General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, was nominated for President. The vote stood :—

Whole number of votes	1263
Necessary for a choice	632
James B. Weaver, of Iowa	995
James H. Kyle, of South Dakota	265
Mann Page, of Virginia	1
Leland Stanford, of California	1
— Norton	1

For Vice-President, James G. Field, of Virginia, was nominated. The vote was as follows :—

Whole number of votes	1287
Necessary for a choice	644
James G. Field, of Virginia	733
Ben. S. Terrell, of Texas	554

The representation in this convention was irregular, as may be seen from the fact that Texas cast 60 votes, New York 59, Pennsylvania 21, Massachusetts 28, Illinois 83, and North Dakota 25.

The canvass developed few features of special interest. The result seemed to be in doubt, and both parties were hopeful. The opposition which had existed, prior to the conventions, to the President and the ex-President, the candidates of their respective parties, disappeared for the most part. The Republicans had been placed in a minority by the disaster of 1890 ; but their leaders, their orators, their journalists, and the rank and file of the party made no doubt that the defection was temporary. The ticket did not arouse great enthusiasm, but the Republicans built great hopes upon the situation of the Democrats in New York. There seemed to be an irre-

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breach in that State. An eloquent advocate of nomination of Governor Hill had said, in a speech at the Democratic Convention at Chicago, that Mr. [redacted] could not carry New York. Tammany Hall pledged its loyalty to the ticket; but the "anti-[redacted]" wing of the party feared, and the Republicans suspected, that the protestations were insincere. The growth of the Populist party in the West and in parts of the South led to coalitions which rendered division of the votes among the several parties possible. In five States — Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, North Dakota, and Wyoming — the Democrats nominated electors, but voted for the Populist candidates. It seemed possible that neither party might elect a majority of electors. In that case the election of President would devolve upon the House of Representatives chosen, in which the Democrats controlled a majority of the state delegations. Consequently, for purposes, a defeat of the Republicans, by the aid of the Populists in a few of the States, was as possible as the election of a full majority of Democrats. In Nevada the Democrats nominated an

gan, shown in the "landslide" year, 1890. An act was passed by that legislature reëstablishing the system of choosing electors by districts. Maryland, the last State to cling to this method, had abandoned it in 1836. It was a device, in the case of Michigan, to enable a party which was conscious of being in a minority to secure a few electors. The constitutionality of the measure was attacked; but it was clearly within the power of the legislature to pass such an act, and the Supreme Court of Michigan so decided.

The result of the election was a great surprise to men of all parties. Not only was the South "solid" once more for the Democratic candidates, not only did all the usually doubtful States support Mr. Cleveland by large majorities, but Illinois, Wisconsin, and California were drawn into the Democratic ranks. Even Ohio, which had not given an electoral vote to a Democrat since there had been a Republican party, was so closely divided that one Cleveland elector slipped in. The fusion against the Republicans was successful in Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, and Nevada. It was partially successful in North Dakota and Oregon. The popular vote for the several candidates is given in the following table, as nearly as it can be stated, but the "official returns" vary so greatly as to render absolute accuracy impossible. The appended figures are made up by a careful comparison of several sets of "official" returns, and a choice of those that seem most trustworthy. It should be borne in mind that the Populist vote is overstated, and the Democratic vote understated, by reason of the alliances just mentioned.

Forty-four States participated in the election, six new States having been admitted since the previous election, — North and South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Wyoming. In all the States, electors were chosen by popular vote; in all, save Michigan, on a general ticket. The electoral vote is appended to the popular vote.

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	POPULAR VOTE.					ELECTORAL VOTE.		
	Grover Cleveland, of New York.	Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana.	James B. Weaver, of Iowa.	John Bidwell, of California.	Simon Wing, of Massachusetts.	Cleveland and Brevinson.	Harrison and Reid.	Weaver and Field.
shire . . .	48,044	82,931	2,381	3,063	380	-	6	-
ire . . .	42,061	45,058	292	1,297	-	-	4	-
ta . . .	16,325	57,992	43	1,415	-	-	4	-
ll . . .	170,818	202,814	3,210	1,539	649	-	15	-
. . .	24,335	20,972	228	1,634	-	-	4	-
. . .	82,305	77,025	806	4,025	829	6	-	-
. . .	634,803	609,350	16,429	38,100	17,956	36	-	-
. . .	171,042	150,009	989	8,131	1,337	10	-	-
. . .	452,904	516,011	8,714	25,123	898	-	32	-
. . .	18,581	18,083	13	505	-	3	-	-
. . .	113,306	92,736	796	5,877	27	8	-	-
. . .	163,977	113,962	12,275	2,738	-	12	-	-
ia . . .	84,467	80,233	4,166	2,145	-	6	-	-
na . . .	132,951	100,342	44,736	2,635	-	11	-	-
na . . .	54,692	13,345	2,407	-	-	9	-	-
. . .	129,351	48,305	42,937	988	-	13	-	-
. . .	30,143	-	4,843	475	-	4	-	-
. . .	138,138	9,197	85,181	239	-	11	-	-
. . .	40,237	1,406	10,256	910	-	9	-	-
. . .	87,022	18,281	13,282	-	-	8	-	-
. . .	239,148	61,444	99,688	2,166	-	15	-	-
. . .	87,634	46,884	11,631	113	-	8	-	-
. . .	268,398	226,918	41,213	4,331	-	17	-	-
1884 . . .	1,000,000	1,000,000	13,447	4,351	-	12	-	-

The count of the electoral vote took place on February 8, 1893. The proceedings of 1889 were followed exactly. No incident occurred to enliven the occasion more important than a round of Democratic applause when the vote of Illinois was announced.

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first National Convention in 1896 to nominate
ates for President and Vice-President was that of
hibition party, held at Pittsburg, May 27. Mr.
tevens, of Pennsylvania, was the temporary chair-
and Mr. Oliver W. Stewart, of Illinois, the perma-
esident, of the convention.

assembly was divided from the first into two fac-
the "narrow gaugers," who wished to limit the
tions of the platform to the issue of prohibition;
the "broad gaugers," who favored resolutions on a
of other topics, but chiefly one for the free coin-
ver. The platform, reported on the second day

We, the members of the Prohibition party, in National Convention assembled, renewing our declaration of allegiance to Almighty God as the rightful Ruler of the universe, lay down the following as our declaration of political purpose : —

The Prohibition party, in National Convention assembled, declares its firm conviction that the manufacture, exportation, importation, and sale of alcoholic beverages has produced such social, commercial, industrial, and political wrongs, and is now so threatening the perpetuity of all our social and political institutions, that the suppression of the same, by a national party organized therefor, is the greatest object to be accomplished by the voters of our country, and is of such importance that it of right ought to control the political actions of all our patriotic citizens until such suppression is accomplished.

The urgency of this course demands the union, without further delay, of all citizens who desire the prohibition of the liquor traffic ; therefore be it

Resolved, That we favor the legal prohibition by state and national legislation of the manufacture, importation, and sale of alcoholic beverages. That we declare our purpose to organize and unite all the friends of prohibition into one party, and in order to accomplish this end we deem it of right to leave every Prohibitionist the freedom of his own convictions upon all other political questions, and trust our representatives to take such action upon other political questions as the changes occasioned by prohibition and the welfare of the whole people shall demand.

The following additional resolution was moved from the floor and unanimously adopted : —

Resolved, That the right of suffrage ought not to be abridged on account of sex.

Immediately after the adoption of the substitute platform a delegate requested all members of the convention who “wanted to work for humanity” to withdraw, whereupon the “broad gaugers” retired from the hall. Those who remained proceeded to make nominations. Joshua Levering, of Maryland, was nominated for President of the United States by acclamation. A ballot was taken for a candidate for Vice-President, and Hale John-

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Illinois, was nominated. He received 309 votes
for T. C. Hughes, of Arizona.

Delegates from the Prohibition party met on the
evening of May 28, and organized by the choice of A. L.
Hart of Michigan, as chairman. The name of "Na-
tional Prohibition Party" was adopted. The following platform was
adopted. The first resolution is a substitute for the
one adopted by the majority of the Committee on Reso-
lutions of the Prohibition Convention; the others are the
resolutions submitted by the minority of that
body: —

The National Prohibition Party, recognizing God as the author of all just
government, presents the following declaration of prin-
ciples, which it pledges itself to enact into effective legislation
whenever it has the power to do so: —

The total suppression of the manufacture and sale, importation,
exportation, and transportation of intoxicating liquors for bever-
age purposes. We utterly reject all plans for regulating or
controlling traffic with this traffic, whether such plans be called local
prohibition, license, or public control. The sale of liquors
for medicinal and other legitimate uses should be conducted by
the government without profit, and with such regulations as will pre-

of land subject to forfeiture should be reclaimed by the government, and no portion of the public domain should hereafter be granted except to actual settlers, continuous use being essential to tenure.

5. Railroads, telegraphs, and other natural monopolies should be owned and operated by the government, giving to the people the benefit of service at actual cost.

6. The national constitution should be so amended as to allow the national revenues to be raised by equitable adjustment of taxation on the properties and incomes of the people, and import duties should be levied as a means of securing equitable commercial relations with other nations.

7. The contract convict labor system, through which speculators are enriched at the expense of the State, should be abolished.

8. All citizens should be protected by law in their right to one day of rest in seven, without oppressing any who conscientiously observe any other than the first day of the week.

9. The American public schools, taught in the English language, should be maintained, and no public funds should be appropriated for sectarian institutions.

10. The President, Vice-President, and United States Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people.

11. Ex-soldiers and sailors of the United States army and navy, their widows and minor children, should receive liberal pensions, graded on disability and term of service, not merely as a debt of gratitude, but for service rendered in the preservation of the Union.

12. Our immigration laws should be so revised as to exclude paupers and criminals. None but citizens of the United States should be allowed to vote in any State, and naturalized citizens should not vote until one year after naturalization papers have been issued.

13. The initiative and referendum, and proportional representation, should be adopted.

Rev. Charles E. Bentley, of Nebraska, was nominated for President; and James H. Southgate, of North Carolina, for Vice-President. Representatives of twenty-seven States took part in the convention. A roll-call showed the presence of 299 seceding delegates accredited to the

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Convention. The nominations were made by

mean National Convention was held at St. Louis June 16. Mr. Charles W. Fairbanks, of New York, was the temporary chairman, and Mr. John A. Logan, of Nebraska, the permanent president, of the same. The platform was reported June 18,

Representatives of the United States, assembled by their representatives at the National Convention, appealing for the popular justification of their claims to the matchless success of thirty years of Republican rule, earnestly and respectfully address themselves to the awakened intelligence, expressing the conscience of their countrymen in the following facts and principles:—

Ever since the Civil War the American people have suffered the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted control of the government. It has been a record of incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, running a large deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses by borrowing money, piled up the public debt by \$262,000,000

We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry ; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods ; it secures the American market for the American producer ; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workman ; it puts the factory by the side of the farm, and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demand and price ; it diffuses general thrift, and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application it is just, fair, and impartial, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination, and individual favoritism.

We denounce the present Democratic tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit, and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of the time and of production ; the ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest.

We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican administration was a national calamity, and we demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure enlarged markets for the products of our farms, forests, and factories.

Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy, and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be reestablished, — protection for what we produce ; free admission for the necessities of life which we do not produce ; reciprocal agreements of mutual interest which gain open markets for us in return for our open market to others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade,

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is our own market for ourselves ; reciprocity builds up
ade, and finds an outlet for our surplus.

demn the present administration for not keeping faith
sugar-producers of this country. The Republican party
protection as will lead to the production on American
the sugar which the American people use, and for
pay other countries more than \$100,000,000 annually.
our products—to those of the mine and the field, as
use of the shop and factory ; to hemp, to wool, the
the great industry of sheep husbandry, as well as to
d woollens of the mill—we promise the most ample

for restoring the early American policy of discriminat-
for the upbuilding of our merchant marine, and the
of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that
ships—the product of American labor, employed in
shipyards, sailing under the stars and stripes, and
officered, and owned by Americans—may regain the
of our foreign commerce.

Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It
enactment of the law providing for the resumption of
ments in 1879 ; since then every dollar has been as
ld.

unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to

tice in the Pension Bureau, so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present administration, of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the rolls, as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous, and dignified, and all our interests in the Western hemisphere carefully watched and guarded. The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them; the Nicaragua Canal should be built, owned, and operated by the United States; and by the purchase of the Danish Islands we should secure a proper and much-needed naval station in the West Indies.

The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey, American residents have been exposed to the gravest dangers and American property destroyed. There and everywhere American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

We reassert the Monroe doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeals of any American State for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered, and shall not interfere, with the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but those possessions must not, on any pretext, be extended. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all of the English-speaking part of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants.

From the hour of achieving their own independence, the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

The government of Spain having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident Ameri-

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us or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe government of the United States should actively use its kind good offices to restore peace and give independence and.

ance and security of the republic, and the maintenance of influence among the nations of the earth, demand a ever commensurate with its position and responsibility. fore favor the continued enlargement of the navy, and e system of harbor and coast defenses.

protection of the equality of our American citizenship, e wages of our workingmen against the fatal competi- e-priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be y enforced, and so extended as to exclude from entrance ted States those who can neither read nor write.

al Service Law was placed on the statute book by the n party, which has always sustained it, and we renew ted declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly ud extended wherever practicable.

mand that every citizen of the United States shall be o cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such l be counted and returned as cast.

claim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized rous practice well known as lynching, or killing of gs suspected or charged with crime, without process

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women. Protection of American industries includes equal opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness, and welcome their coöperation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populistic mismanagement and misrule.

Such are the principles and policies of the Republican party. By those principles we will abide, and these policies we will put into execution. We ask for them the considerate judgment of the American people. Confident alike in the history of our great party and in the justice of our cause, we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that the election will bring victory to the Republican party and prosperity to the people of the United States.

Senator Henry M. Teller, of Colorado, for a minority of the Committee of Resolutions, offered the following as a substitute for the paragraph in the platform relating to coinage and finance : —

The Republican party favors the use of both gold and silver as equal standard money, and pledges its power to secure the free, unrestricted, and independent coinage of gold and silver at our mints at the ratio of 16 parts of silver to 1 of gold.

After debate, a motion to lay the substitute on the table was carried by a vote of 818½ yeas to 103½ nays. The financial plank of the platform reported by the majority of the committee was then put to vote, and was adopted by 812½ yeas to 110½ nays. On this last motion one delegate from Missouri did not vote. The rest of the platform was then adopted unanimously. Upon the adoption of the resolution against the free coinage of silver, a protest was offered on behalf of the defeated faction, and Senator Teller, in a farewell speech, announced the withdrawal of himself and others from the convention and the party. The seceders, who numbered twenty-one, represented the States of Colorado, Idaho,

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la, South Dakota, and Utah, and included
ates Senators and two Members of Con-

Kinley, of Ohio, was nominated for Presi-
nted States on the first vote, which re-
sults:—

ber of votes	906
or a choice	453½
Kinley, of Ohio	661½
Reed, of Maine	84½
Quay, of Pennsylvania	61½
ton, of New York	58
Allison, of Iowa	35½
ameron, of Pennsylvania	1
.	4

obart, of New Jersey, was nominated for
The first vote resulted in a choice, as

ber of votes	895
or a choice	448
obart, of New Jersey	535½
ans, of Tennessee	277½

John W. Daniel of Virginia. Mr. Daniel was chosen temporary chairman by a vote of 556 to 349. Senator Stephen M. White of California was the permanent President of the Convention.

The platform was reported July 9, as follows:—

We, the Democrats of the United States, in national convention assembled, do reaffirm our allegiance to those great essential principles of justice and liberty upon which our institutions are founded and which the Democratic party has advocated from Jefferson's time to our own — freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, the preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, and the faithful observance of Constitutional limitations.

During all these years the Democratic party has resisted the tendency of selfish interests to the centralization of government power, and steadfastly maintained the integrity of the dual scheme of government established by the founders of this republic of republics. Under its guidance and teachings the great principle of local self-government has found its best impression in the maintenance of the rights of the States and in its assertion of the necessity of confining the general government to the exercise of powers granted by the Constitution of the United States.

The Constitution of the United States guarantees to every citizen the rights of civil and religious liberty. The Democratic party has always been the exponent of political liberty and religious freedom, and it renews its obligations and reaffirms its devotion to the fundamental principles of the Constitution.

Recognizing that the money question is paramount to all others at this time, we invite attention to the fact that the Constitution names silver and gold together as the money metals of the United States, and that the first coinage law passed by Congress under the Constitution makes the silver dollar the money unit, and admitted gold to free coinage at a ratio based upon the silver dollar unit.

We declare that the act of 1873, demonetizing silver without the knowledge of, or approval of, the American people, has resulted in the appreciation of gold and a corresponding falling in the prices of commodities produced by the people; a heavy increase in the burden of taxation and of all debts, public and private; the enrichment of the money-lending class at home and

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the prostration of industry and impoverishment of the

unalterably opposed to monometallism, which has locked
prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard
and monometallism is a British policy, and its adoption
of other nations into financial servitude to London. It
is un-American, but anti-American, and it can be fas-
tened on the United States only by the stifling of that spirit
of liberty which proclaimed our political independence
and won it in the war of the Revolution.

and the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and
the present legal ratio of sixteen to one, without waiting
for consent of any other nation. We demand that the
silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with
all debts, public and private, and we favor such legisla-
tion to prevent for the future the demonetization of any
legal tender money by private contract.¹

opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to
the obligations of the United States the option re-
served by law to the government of redeeming such obligations
in silver coin or gold coin.

opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the
United States in time of peace, and condemn the trafficking with
such securities, which, in exchange for bonds, and at enor-
mous prices, have themselves made the federal treasury with gold

We denounce as disturbing to business the Republican threat to restore the McKinley law, which has been twice condemned by the people in national elections and which, enacted under the false plea of protection to home industry, proved a prolific breeder of trusts and monopolies, enriched the few at the expense of the many, restricted trade, and deprived the producers of the great American staples of access to their natural markets.

Until the money question is settled, we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws, except such as are necessary to make up the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax. But for this decision by the Supreme Court there would be no deficit in the revenue under the law passed by the Democratic Congress, that Court having in that decision sustained Constitutional objections to its enactment which had been previously overruled by the ablest judges who had ever sat on that bench.

We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all the Constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the Court as it may hereafter be constituted, so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expenses of the government.

We hold that the most efficient way of protecting American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market, and that the value of the home market to our American farmers and artisans is greatly reduced by a vicious monetary system, which depresses the prices of their products below the cost of production and thus deprives them of the means of purchasing the products of our home manufactures, and as labor creates the wealth of the country, we demand the passage of such laws as may be necessary to protect it in all its rights.

We are in favor of the arbitration of differences between employers engaged in interstate commerce and their employees, and recommend such legislation as is necessary to carry out this principle.

The absorption of wealth by the few, the consolidation of our leading railroad systems and the formation of trusts and pools, require a stricter control by the federal government of those arteries of commerce. We demand the enlargement of the powers

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interstate commerce commission and such restrictions and
of railroads as will protect the people from robbery
pression.

denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from
le by oppressive taxation, and the lavish appropriations
t Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high
e labor that pays them is unemployed, and the products
people's toil are depressed in price till they no longer re-
cost of production.

demand a return to that simplicity and economy which
t a Democratic government, and a reduction in the num-
seless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of
le.

denounce the arbitrary interference by federal authorities
affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United
nd a crime against free institutions, and we especially ob-
government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous
oppression by which federal judges, in contempt of the
the States and rights of citizens, become at once legisla-
ges and executioners ; and we approve the bill passed at
session of the United States Senate and now pending in
se relative to contempts in federal courts, and providing
by jury in certain cases of contempt.

mination should be indulged in by the government of

the Territory or District in which the duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule, and that all public lands of the United States should be appropriated to the establishment of free homes for American citizens.

We recommend that the Territory of Alaska be granted a delegate in Congress, and that the general land and timber laws of the United States be extended to said Territory.

The federal government should care for and improve the Mississippi river and other great waterways of the republic, so as to secure for the interior States cheap transportation to tide water. When any waterway of the republic is of sufficient importance to demand aid of the government, such aid should be extended upon a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

The Monroe doctrine, as originally declared and as interpreted by succeeding Presidents, is a permanent part of the foreign policy of the United States, and must at all times be maintained.

We extend our sympathy to the people of Cuba in their heroic struggle for liberty and independence.

We are opposed to life tenure in the public service. We favor appointments based upon merit, fixed terms of office, and such an administration of the civil service laws as will afford equal opportunities to all citizens of ascertained fitness.

We declare it to be the unwritten law of this republic, established by custom and usage of a hundred years, and sanctioned by the examples of the greatest and wisest of those who founded and have maintained our government, that no man should be eligible for a third term of the presidential office.

Confiding in the justice of our cause and the necessity of its success at the polls, we submit the foregoing declaration of principles and purposes to the considerate judgment of the American people. We invite the support of all people who approve them, and who desire to have them made effective through legislation, for the relief of the people and the restoration of the country's prosperity.

A minority of the committee on resolutions submitted two amendments. The first was offered as a substitute for the financial clause in the platform reported by the majority, and was as follows :—

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declare our belief that the experiment on the part of the States alone of free silver coinage and a change in the standard of value, independently of the action of other nations, would not only imperil our finances, but would entirely prevent, the establishment of international business, to which the efforts of the government should be steadied.

to place this country at once upon a silver basis, impair business, disturb business, diminish the purchasing power of the labor, and inflict irreparable evils upon our nation's commerce and industry.

international cooperation among leading nations for the purpose of silver can be secured, we favor the rigid maintenance of the existing gold standard as essential to the preservation of national credit, the redemption of our public pledges and the inviolate of our country's honor.

insist that all our paper currency shall be kept at a parity with gold. The Democratic party is the party of hard money, and is opposed to legal tender paper money as a part of our present financial system, and we therefore favor the gradual redemption and cancellation of all United States notes and treasury notes, and such legislative provisions as will prevent undue inflation.

insist that the national credit shall be resolutely maintained at all times and under all circumstances.

one of which proposed to add to the clause opposing "the demonetization of any kind of legal tender money by private contract [see page 506], a provision that in such legislation the validity of existing contracts should be carefully guarded; the other amendment pledged the Democratic party, in case a law establishing free coinage should not maintain the parity of gold and silver money, one year after such enactment, to repeal the free coinage law.

These resolutions were rejected by a *viva voce* vote. The official stenographer of the convention reported the first of the resolutions as having been adopted, and it was for a time printed as a part of the platform. The mistake was soon discovered and rectified.

The platform as a whole was adopted by a vote of 628 ayes to 301 noes. [The full convention contained 930 delegates.]

William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, was nominated for President on the fifth vote. The several votes resulted as follows:—

	First.	Second.	Third.	Fourth.	Fifth.
Whole number of votes	752	768	768	769	768
Necessary for a choice (two thirds)	502	512	512	513	512
William J. Bryan, of Nebraska	119	190	219	280	500
Richard P. Bland, of Missouri	235	283	291	241	108
Robert E. Pattison, of Pennsylvania	95	100	97	97	95
Horace Boies, of Iowa	85	41	38	33	26
Joseph C. B. Blackburn, of Kentucky	83	41	27	27	-
Joseph R. McLean, of Ohio	54	53	54	46	-
Claude Matthews, of Indiana	37	33	34	35	31
Benjamin R. Tillman, of South Carolina	17	-	-	-	-
Sylvester Penneyer, of Oregon	8	8	-	-	-
Henry M. Teller, of Colorado	8	8	-	-	-
Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois	7	10	9	8	8
William E. Russell, of Massachusetts	2	-	-	-	-
James E. Campbell, of Ohio	1	-	-	-	-
David B. Hill, of New York	1	1	1	1	1
David Turple, of Indiana	-	-	-	-	1
Not voting	178	162	162	162	162

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votes were changed, and given to Mr. Bryan, as his nomination seemed assured, and he thus removed more than the two thirds necessary to effect a

Mr Sewall, of Maine, was nominated for Vice-president, on the fifth vote. The several trials resulted as follows : —

	First.	Second.	Third.	Fourth.	Fifth.
Number of votes	670	675	675	677	679
For a choice (two thirds)	447	450	450	452	453
Sewall, of Maine	100	87	97	261	508
McClellan, of Pennsylvania	163	113	50	—	—
McLean, of Ohio	111	158	210	296	32
Williams, of Massachusetts	76	16	15	9	9
Bland, of Missouri	62	294	255	—	—
Clark, of North Carolina	50	22	22	48	22
Williams, of Illinois	22	18	—	—	—
Harbison, of Pennsylvania	21	21	19	11	11
Wells, of Iowa	20	—	—	—	—
Blackburn, of Kentucky	20	—	—	—	—
Wentzel, of Virginia	11	1	8	54	36
Lewis, of Washington	11	—	—	—	—
Pattison, of Pennsylvania	—	1	1	1	1
Teller, of Colorado	1	—	—	—	—
White, of California	1	—	—	—	—
Watson, of Illinois	1	—	—	—	—
	200	205	255	253	251

tween the two factions came to a vote on a proposition to amend the report of the Committee on Rules. Inasmuch as the opposition to the nomination of Mr. Sewall for Vice-President was far stronger than the opposition to Mr. Bryan, a motion was made to reverse the usual order, and bring the convention to a vote for the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President, before a candidate for President was nominated. This proposition was carried by a vote of 785 to 615.

The platform, reported July 24, was adopted, as follows : —

The People's party, assembled in National Convention, reaffirms its allegiance to the principles declared by the founders of the Republic, and also to the fundamental principles of just government, as enunciated in the platform of the party in 1892. We recognize that, through the connivance of the present and preceding administrations, the country has reached a crisis in its national life, as predicted in our declaration four years ago, and that prompt and patriotic action is the supreme duty of the hour. We realize that, while we have political independence, our financial and industrial independence is yet to be attained, by restoring to our country the Constitutional control and exercise of the functions necessary to a people's government, which functions have been basely surrendered by our public servants to corporate monopolies. The influence of European money changers has been more potent in shaping legislation than the voice of the American people. Executive power and patronage have been used to corrupt our Legislatures and defeat the will of the people, and plutocracy has thereby been enthroned upon the ruins of democracy. To restore the government intended by the fathers, and for the welfare and prosperity of this and future generations, we demand the establishment of an economic and financial system which shall make us masters of our own affairs, and independent of European control, by the adoption of the following :

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

1. We demand a national money, safe and sound, issued by the general government only, without the intervention of banks of

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make a full legal tender for all debts, public and private ; a stable, and efficient means of distribution direct to the people through the lawful disbursements of the government. We demand the free and unrestricted coinage of silver and copper at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the consent of foreign nations.

We demand that the volume of circulating medium be increased to an amount sufficient to meet the demands of commerce and population, and to restore the just level of prices and production.

We denounce the sales of bonds and the increase of the public debt-bearing debt made by the present administration as arbitrary and without authority of law, and demand that no new bonds be issued except by specific act of Congress.

We demand such legislation as will prevent the demonetization of the lawful money of the United States by private coin-

We demand that the government in payment of its obligations use its option as to the kind of lawful money in which they are to be paid, and we denounce the present and preceding administrations for surrendering this option to the holders of government obligations.

We demand a graduated income tax to the end that aggregate wealth shall bear its just proportion of taxation, and we support the recent decision of the Supreme Court relative to the

izen, may be destroyed. Such ownership is to be accomplished gradually in a manner consistent with sound public policy.

2. The interest of the United States in the public highways, built with public moneys, and the proceeds of extensive grants of land to the Pacific railroads, should never be alienated, mortgaged or sold, but guarded and protected for the general welfare, as provided by the laws organizing such railroads. The foreclosure of existing liens of the United States on these roads should at once follow default in the payment thereof by the debtor companies ; and at the foreclosure sales of said roads the government shall purchase the same if it become necessary to protect its interests therein, or if they can be purchased at a reasonable price ; and the government shall operate said railroads as public highways for the benefit of the whole people and not in the interest of the few, under suitable provisions for protection of life and property, giving to all transportation interests, equal privileges and equal rates for fares and freights.

3. We denounce the present infamous schemes for refunding these debts, and demand that the laws now applicable thereto be executed and administered according to their intent and spirit.

4. The telegraph, like the post office system, being a necessity, for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

LAND.

1. True policy demands that the national and State legislation shall be such as will ultimately enable every prudent and industrious citizen to secure a home, and, therefore, the lands should not be monopolized for speculative purposes. All lands now owned by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs should by lawful means be reclaimed by the government, and held for settlers only, and private land monopoly as well as alien ownership should be prohibited.

2. We condemn the frauds by which the land grant Pacific railroad companies have, through the connivance of the interior department, robbed multitudes of actual bona fide settlers of their homes, and miners of their claims, and we demand legislation by Congress which will enforce the exception of mineral land from such grants after, as well as before, the patent.

3. We demand that bona fide settlers on all public lands be

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free homes, as provided in the national homestead law, no exception be made in the case of Indian reservations reserved for settlement, and that all lands not now patented meet this demand.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

for a system of direct legislation through the initiative and referendum, under proper constitutional safeguards.

GENERAL PROPOSITIONS.

demand the election of President, Vice-President, and United States senators by a direct vote of the people.

tender to the patriotic people of Cuba our deepest sympathy for their heroic struggle for political freedom and independence, and we believe the time has come when the United States, as a republic of the world, should recognize that Cuba is, in right ought to be, a free and independent state.

favor home rule in the Territories and the District of Columbia, and the early admission of the Territories as States.

public salaries should be made to correspond to the cost of labor and its products.

times of great industrial depression idle labor should be employed on public works as far as practicable.

arbitrary course of the courts in assuming to imprison for indirect contempt and riling them by injunction

and coöperation of all organizations and citizens agreeing with us upon this vital question.

Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, was nominated for Vice-President on the first vote, which stood as follows : —

Whole number of votes	1337
Necessary for a choice	669
Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia	539 $\frac{1}{2}$
Arthur Sewall, of Maine	257 $\frac{1}{2}$
Frank Burkett, of Mississippi	190 $\frac{1}{2}$
Harry Skinner, of North Carolina	142 $\frac{1}{2}$
A. L. Mimms, of Tennessee	118 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mann Page, of Virginia	89 $\frac{1}{2}$

After the votes of all the States were announced, numerous changes took place, and Mr. Watson was declared nominated. No final declaration of the actual numbers seems to have been made.

William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, was nominated for President. The first vote resulted as follows : —

Whole number of votes	1375
Necessary for a choice	698
William J. Bryan, of Nebraska	1042
S. F. Norton, of Illinois	321
Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana	8
Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota	3
J. S. Coxey, of Ohio	1

A convention was held at St. Louis on July 22, by the National Silver party. Frank G. Newlands, of Nevada, was the temporary chairman, and John P. St. John, of New York, was the permanent president. The platform, adopted July 23, was as follows : —

The National Silver party of America, in Convention assembled, hereby adopts the following declaration of principles : —

First, the paramount issue at this time in the United States is

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ably the money question. It is between the British gold and silver standard, gold bonds, and bank currency on the one side, and the metallic standard, no bonds, government currency and an independent policy on the other.

On this issue we declare ourselves to be in favor of a disunion of the American financial system. We are unalterably opposed to a single gold standard, and demand the immediate return to a constitutional standard of gold and silver, by the restoration of a government independently of any foreign power, of a restricted coinage of both gold and silver into standard coins, at the ratio of sixteen to one, and upon terms of exact parity as they existed prior to 1873; the silver coin to be of full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts and dues, public and private, and we demand such legislation as will prevent in the future the destruction of the legal tender quality of money by private contract.

We hold that the power to control and regulate a paper currency is inseparable from the power to coin money, and hence any paper currency intended to circulate as money should be issued, its volume controlled, by the general government only, and it should be a legal tender.

We are unalterably opposed to the issue by the United States of any paper money not bearing bonds in time of peace, and we denounce as a crime no less than a crime the present treasury policy, concurred in by the Republican House of Representatives, of plugging the

ple, relegating to idleness vast numbers of willing workers, sending the shadows of despair into the home of the honest toiler, filling the land with tramps and paupers, and building up colossal fortunes at the money centres.

In the effort to maintain the gold standard the country has, within the last two years, in a time of profound peace and plenty, been loaded down with \$262,000,000 of additional interest-bearing debt under such circumstances as to allow a syndicate of native and foreign bankers to realize a net profit of millions on a single deal.

It stands confessed that the gold standard can be only upheld by so depleting our paper currency as to force the prices of our products below the European, and even below the Asiatic, level to enable us to sell in foreign markets, thus aggravating the very evils of which our people so bitterly complain, degrading American labor and striking at the foundations of our civilization itself.

The advocates of the gold standard persistently claim that the real cause of our distress is overproduction — that we have produced so much that it made us poor — which implies that the true remedy is to close the factory, abandon the farm, and throw a multitude of people out of employment — a doctrine that leaves us unnerved, and disheartened, and absolutely without hope for the future.

We affirm it to be unquestioned that there can be no such economic paradox as overproduction, and at the same time tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens remaining half-clothed and half-fed, and piteously clamoring for the common necessities of life.

Over and above all other questions of policy, we are in favor of restoring to the people of the United States the time-honored money of the Constitution — gold and silver, not one but both — the money of Washington, and Hamilton, and Jefferson, and Monroe, and Jackson, and Lincoln, to the end that the American people may receive honest pay for an honest product; that the American debtor may pay his just obligations in an honest standard, and not in a dishonest and unsound standard, appreciated one hundred per cent in purchasing power, and no appreciation in debt-paying power, and to the end, further, that silver standard countries may be deprived of the unjust advantage they now enjoy, in the difference in exchange between gold and silver, an advantage which tariff legislation cannot overcome.

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Therefore confidently appeal to the people of the United States to hold in abeyance all other questions, however important and momentous they may appear, to sunder, if need be, all party ties and affiliations, and unite in one supreme effort to deliver themselves and their children from the domination of the power—a power more destructive than any which has ever been fastened upon the civilized men of any race or in any age.

And upon the consummation of our desires and efforts, we invoke the aid of all patriotic American citizens, and the grace and blessing of divine Providence.

Sam J. Bryan of Nebraska, was nominated for President, and Arthur Sewall, of Maine, for Vice-President. Both nominations were made by acclamation.

A vote was taken at any time during the convention to disclose the number of those taking part, or the number of which they were citizens; nor did the members appear as delegates, elected and accredited by party conventions.

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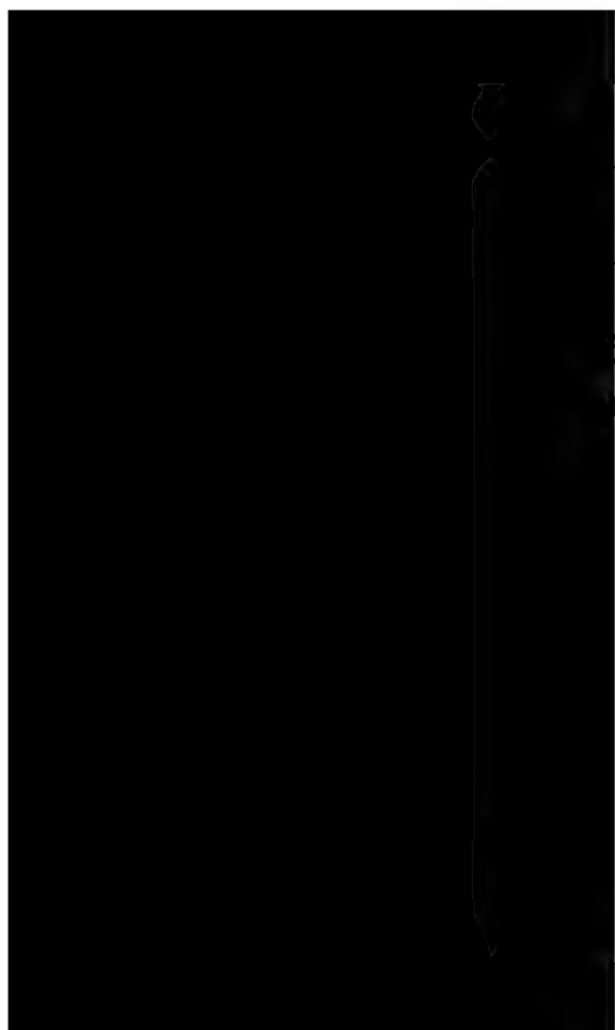
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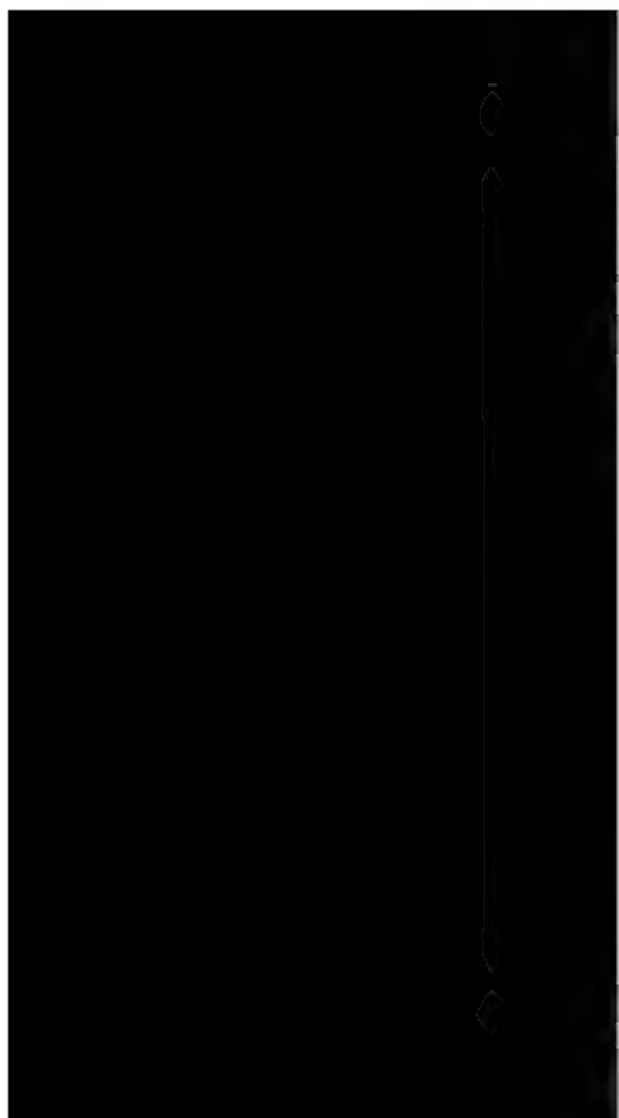
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